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English Reprints

SIR THOMAS MORE

Utopia

Originally Printed in Latin, 1516

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY

RALPH ROBINSON

Sometime Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford

HIS SECOND AND REVISED EDITION, 1556: PRECEDED BY
THE TITLE AND EPISTLE OF HIS FIRST EDITION

EDITED BY

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INTRODUCTION.



UTOPIA—probably written the second book at Antwerp about November 1515; and the first in London in the early part of 1516—was first published abroad. It was printed by Theodore Martin at Louvain, under the editorship of Erasmus, Ægidius, Paludanus and other of More's friends in Flanders, towards the end of 1516.

More then revised it, and, through Erasmus, it was sent to John Frobenius at Basle to print. This more sumptuous and, as regards authorship, second edition—probably containing the standard text—bears the date of November 1518. In the meantime however, a friend of Erasmus, the Englishman Thomas Lupset, brought out a reprint of the first edition at Paris, which was printed by Gilles de Gourmont before March 1518; and which is therefore in point of time, the second edition; the Basle one, being the third; and one at Vienna in 1519, the fourth in order of appearance. All four were in Latin, then the common familiar language of the learned.

By a strange fate, not a single copy of this work, in any language whatsoever, was printed in England in More's lifetime: or indeed prior to these English versions of Ralph Robynson. Yet—despite its original Latin garb—the work is essentially English, and will ever reckon among the treasures of our literature.

Without some acquaintance with Sir Thomas More's life, one might be apt to assume *Utopia* to be entirely his own work, and the persons named in it to be fictitious. He wrote the letter to Petrus Ægidius, and the two books of Raphael's communication. Erasmus' letter to Frobenius (not here translated) was printed by him in the Basle edition of 1518. The following also contributed to the earlier Latin editions.

PETRUS ÆGIDIUS, the PETER GILES of this translation, [b. 1490—d. 1555], secretary to the municipality of Antwerp. *Wrote a letter translated at pp. 163-166.*

JOHN CLEMENT [d. 1 July 1572] at the time More's attendant, afterwards Professor of Greek at Oxford. *See p. 23.*

JOHN PALUDANUS, *Cassilitensis* 'an ancient friend' of Erasmus, *p. 7*: contributed to the first edition, a letter and a poem *not translated by Robynson.*

JEROME BUSLEYDEN, latinized BUSLIDIUS [b. 1470—d. 27 Aug. 1517] a rich

generous *diplomate*. Founder of the College of the three languages (Latin, Greek, Hebrew), at Louvain. He wrote a letter to More, *not translated by Robinson*.

GERARD BRONCHROST, of Nimeguen in Latin NOVIOMAGUS [b. 1494—d. 1570]. Sometime Mathematical Professor at Rostock, wrote a short poem, *see p. 167*.

CORNELIUS SCHRYVER, latinized GRAPHÆUS [b. 1482—d. 19 Dec. 1558] made in 1533 secretary to the municipality of Antwerp, also contributed a short poem, *see p. 167*.

WILLIAM BUDE, latinized BUDEUS or BUDÆUS [b. 1467—d. 23 Aug. 1540] the most learned Frenchman of his time. His letter to Lupset first appeared in the Paris edition of 1518, *not included by Robinson*.

THOMAS LUPSET [b. 1498—d. 27 Dec. 1532] while studying at Paris edits second edition of *Utopia*. Afterwards becomes Lecturer in Rhetoric at Oxford.

Utopia is worthy of multiformed study. Not only from its reflection of the character, principles, and merry wit of its author; from its proposed solutions of such social problems, as the scarcity or overplus of population, the prevention of famines, and the like: but also from its reference of the condition of the poor, especially the 'bondmen,' the then dying out 'villenage' of England; from its allusions to the late, as well as to the present English king; from its survey of Continental politics in 1516: and on other accounts.

The furthest discovery of Amerigo Vespucci in his fourth voyage, along the coast-line of Brazil, appears to have been Cape Frio. Sir Thomas More apparently refers to Deodati's collection, in speaking of 'those iiiij. voyages that be nowe in printe, and abrode in every mannes handes;' which, in Latin, was first published in 1507, under the title of *Quattvor Americi Vesputtici Navagationes*. Near the end of this tract is the following account of what occurred on 3 April, 1504.

Relictus igitur in castello præfato Christicolis. xxxiiij. et cum illis. xij. machinis ac alijs plurimus armis / vna cum prouisione pro sexse mensibus sufficiente / . . .

On this passage More hangs his whole fiction. This is the carefully concealed starting-point of the imaginary portion of his work. Thence the Portuguese Hythlodaye wanders to the island of 'Nowhere,' which to More's mind was 'beyond the line equinoctial' between Brazil and India. There for five years and more Hythlodaye studied the laws and habits of a community (allowing the very low average of 20 persons to each of the 6000 households of the 54 cities) of 6,500,000

persons; not including their countrey population or outlying 'forreyne towns.' At length, returning home from India in the Portuguese fleet, Hythlodaye is represented as introduced by Peter Ægidius to More in the doorway of Antwerp Cathedral: whence all three adjourn to the garden in Sir Thomas' house, where, on a bench 'covered with torues' they, with John Clement, listen a whole day to the story of Hythlodaye: the contents of the first book being recounted before dinner: and those of the second between dinner and supper.

Hythlodaye may well say 'that this nation tooke their beginnige of the Grekes, bicause their speche . . . kepeth dyuers signes and tokens of the greke langage in the names of their cities, and of their magistrates: '* as, for example, the following:—

ENGLISH.	LATIN.	GREEK.
Utopia	Utopia [= Nusquama]	οὐ, <i>no</i> ; τόπος, <i>place</i> .
Hythlodaye	Hythlodæus	{ ἄβλος [= nugæ] <i>nonsense</i> . { ἄχθος, <i>joyless, wretched</i> . { μάκαρ, <i>blessed, happy</i> . { ἀμαυρός, <i>shadowy, unknown</i> . { ἀνυδρος, <i>waterless</i> . { φύλος ἀρχή, <i>chief of the tribe</i> .
Achoriens	Archorii	
Macariens	Macarensii	
Amaurot	Amaurotus	
Anyder	Anydrus	
Phylarch	Phylarchus	

There is an essential difference of purpose in the somewhat similar works of Plato and More. In the *Republic*, Plato, in the person of Socrates, endeavours 'thoroughly to investigate the real nature of justice and injustice,' by first investigating their character in cities, and afterwards by applying 'the same inquiry to the individual, looking for the counterpart of the greater as it exists in the form of the less.'† More, in the person of Hythlodaye, looking round the world, perceives nothing 'but a certain conspiracy of riche men procuringe their owne commodities vnder the name and title of the commen wealth.'‡ Plato endeavours to attain to an exact idea of an abstract vertue: More seeks to devise a system in which the poor shall not perish for lack, nor the rich be idle through excuse of their riches: in which *every one is equally* of the commonwealth, and in which the commonwealth possess only a common wealth.

* p. 118. † *The Republic of Plato*. Ed. by J. L. DAVIES, M.A., and D. J. VAUGHAN, M.A. p. 52. 3rd Ed. 1866. ‡ p. 150.

Circumstances
connected with the earlier issues
of
UTOPIA.

Referred to in *Letters & Papers Foreign & Domestic of the reign of Henry VIII.* Arranged and Catalogued by Rev. J. S. BREWER, M.A.
London, 1864.

1515. [Feb. ?] [London?] MORE to ERASMUS. *Letters, &c.* ii. 430.
More's embassy has been successful, but tedious; has been away more than six months. . . . Has formed a close intimacy with Pet. Giles [Ægidius] of Antwerp.
1516. Oct. 31. London. MORE to ERASMUS. ii. 777.
The *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* is popular everywhere. Is glad that Peter [Ægidius] likes his *Nusquam* [Utopia]. Wishes to hear if Tunstal approves of it, and other judges.
1516. Nov. 12. Louvain. GERARDUS NOVIOMAGUS (of Nimeguen) to ERASMUS. ii. 793.
His friend Theodoricus [Martin] will undertake to print the *Utopia*. Paludanus will show him a cut of the island by a great painter, if Erasmus desire any alterations.
1516. Nov. 18. Brussels. ERASMUS to PETER ÆGIDIUS. ii. 796.
Utopia is in the printer's hands.
1516. [?] Mechlin. JEROME BUSLIDANUS to MORE. ii. 814.
In praise of his *Utopia*.
1516. [?] London. MORE to PETRUS ÆGIDIUS. ii. 896.
Letter. Translated by Robinson at pp. 21-26.
- [1516. Dec. ?] The Editio princeps appears. *Libellus vere aureus nec minus salutaris quam festivus, de optimo reip. statu, deque noua Insula Vtopia.* . . . It has no pagination. (1) First comes the picture-chart of the island above referred to; (2) Then the Utopian alphabet, in which A to L are represented by circles or curves; M by a triangle; and N to Y by rectangles or portions thereof: dashes being used in connection with these for further diversity. (3) Then we have Anemolius' Utopian Hekastichon, see p. 167; (4) Then Ægidius' letter to Busleyden, see pp. 163-166; (5) Then another letter to him, from John Paludanus, who also contributes a poem; neither of which were included in Robinson's translation; (6) Then a poem by Girardus Noviomagus, *De Utopia*, see p. 167; (7) Then the poem of Cornelius Graphæus, *Ad lectorem*, see p. 167; (8) Then Busleyden's letter to Thomas More, (not included in Robinson's translation); (9) Then More's letter to Ægidius, see pp. 21-26; (10) Then the Text, in two books.]
1517. [?] MORE to TUNSTALL. ii. 1541.
His last letters were the most delightful he ever received from him, as they spoke so highly of his Republica (*Utopia*). Trusts they were as sincere as candid. . . . Was afraid, among his many avocations, he would not have time for such trifles, nor could he have done so except out of partiality. Is glad he is pleased with the work, and not less for his candid advice.
1517. Jan. 13. London. MORE to ERASMUS. ii. 891.
Begs Erasmus will thank Paludanus and Giles [Ægidius].
1517. Feb. 24. Antwerp. ERASMUS to WILLIAM COPE. ii. 953.
Begs him to send for More's *Utopia*, if he has not yet read it, and wishes to see the true source of all political evils. [This proves the publication of the first edition before this date.]

1517. Mar. 1. Antwerp. ERASMUS to MORE. ii. 958.
Sends one letter to Marlianus, who imagined that the first book of *Utopia* was written by Erasmus. . . . As soon as More has corrected the *Utopia*, Erasmus will send the MS. to Basle or Paris.
1517. Mar. 8. Antwerp. ERASMUS to MORE. ii. 963.
'Send the *Utopia* at your earliest opportunity.' A burgo-master at Antwerp is so pleased with it that he knows it all by heart.
1517. [?] London. MORE to ERASMUS. ii. 913.
Sent his *Utopia* some time since, and is delighted to hear it will come out in a magnificent form.
1517. July 31. Paris. GULIELMUS BUDÆUS to THOMAS LUPSET. ii. 1124.
Thanks him for a copy of More's *Utopia*. . . . Long commendation of the *Utopia*. [Printed in both editions of 1518.]
1517. Aug. 25. Louvain. ERASMUS to JOHN FROBENIUS. ii. 1147.
Sends . . . *Utopia* for Frobenius to print.
1517. [?] ERASMUS to MORE. ii. 1090.
Has sent More's *Epigrams* and *Utopia* to Basle.
1517. Aug. 28. Antwerp. FRANCIS CHIEREGATO to ERASMUS. ii. 1151.
On his leaving England for Rome, to avoid the sweating sickness, touched at Antwerp and heard that Erasmus was staying with Petrus Ægidius, secretary to the municipality of Antwerp. On calling heard that Erasmus had started the day before for Louvain.
1517. [?] London. MORE to ERASMUS. ii. 1155.
Is in the clouds with the dream of the government to be offered him by his Utopians; fancies himself a grand potentate, with a crown and a Franciscan cloak (*paludamentum*), followed by a grand procession of the Amauri. Should it please Heaven to exalt him to this high dignity, where he will be too high to think of common acquaintances, he will still keep a corner in his heart for Erasmus and Tunstall; and should they pay him a visit to Utopia, he will make all his subjects honor them as is befitting the friends of majesty. The morn has dawned and dispelled his dream, and stripped off his royalty, plunging him down into his old mill-round at the Court.
1517. Aug. 31. Louvain. ERASMUS to TUNSTAL. ii. 1154.
Has taken up his abode at Louvain, and is on good terms with the theologians. Is staying with Paludanus, his ancient friend, but wants to find more room for his books.
1517. Sept. 3. MORE to ERASMUS. ii. 1157.
Sends his *Utopia* (*Nusquamam nostram nusquam bene scriptam ad te mitto*).
1517. Sept. 15. Paris. THOMAS LUPSET to ERASMUS. ii. 1162.
Intends getting a new edition of More's *Utopia* printed.
1517. Dec. 15. London. MORE to ERASMUS. ii. 1201.
Expects his *Utopia*.
1518. Mar. 5. Louvain. ERASMUS to MORE. ii. 1238.
The printers at Basle excuse their delay in the *Utopia* by reason of the preface added by Budæus. [This is the *third* edition.] Has seen a French edition of the *Utopia*. [Lupset's edition, printed by Gilles de Gourmont at Paris, must therefore rank as the *second* in point of time, but is only a reprint of the Louvain edition of 1516.]
1518. Nov. [Date of the Basle edition, *third* in point of time, *second* as regards authorship. It omits Paludanus' letter and poem of the first edition, and has in addition the above mentioned letters from Erasmus to Frobenius, and from Budé to Lupset. This edition therefore embodying also More's corrections of the previous year, is at once the most complete and most correct published in his lifetime.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Utopia.

* Editions not seen.

For the earliest Latin editions, see *pp.* 6, 7. Space does not permit detailing other Latin, or the French, German, Italian, and Spanish editions that have appeared.

ENGLISH EDITIONS.

(a) Issues in the Author's lifetime.

None.

(b) Issues since the Author's death.

RALPH ROBINSON'S TRANSLATION.

I. As a separate publication.

- 1 1551. London. 1 vol. 8vo. *Earliest translation*: see title at *p.* 11.
- 2 1556. London. 1 vol. 8vo. *Second and revised translation*: see title at *p.* 17.
- 3 1597. London. A most pleasant fruitfull and wittie worke, . . . of the best
1 vol. 4to. state of a publike weale, and of the new Yle called Utopia.
And now this third edition, newly corrected and amended.
- 4 1624. London. Sir T. More's Utopia . . . Now after many Impressions,
1 vol. 4to. newly corrected and purged of all errors hapned in the former
edition. Printed by BER. ALSOP: who dedicates it to *Cresacre More*, of *More place* in *North Mimes* in the countie of *Hertford*, Esquire; next in *Bloud* to Sir *Thomas More*; . . .
- 5 1639. London. The Commonwealth of Utopia. . . . Another edition of
1 vol. 12mo. No. 4.
- 14 1808. London. Utopia . . . With copious Notes, and a Biographical and
1 vol. 4to. Literary Introduction. By the Rev. T. F. DIBDIN, F.S.A.
A reprint of the text of 1639, No. 5, which is itself a reprint
of Alsop's of 1624: collated with Edition of 1551, No. 1.
- 18 1 Mar. 1869. London. 1 vol. 8vo. *English Reprints*: see title at *p.* 1.

BP. GILBERT BURNET'S TRANSLATION.

I. As a separate publication.

- 6 1684. London. Utopia translated into English.
1 vol. 8vo.
- 7 1737. Dublin. Utopia. . . . To this edition is added, a short account of
1 vol. 12mo. Sir Thomas More's Life and his Trial.
- 8 1743. Glasgow. Utopia or the Happy Republic; a Philosophical Romance,
1 vol. 8vo. in two books.
- 9 1751. Oxford. Utopia Revis'd, corrected and greatly improv'd
1 vol. 12mo. by THOMAS WILLIAMSON.
- 10 1753. Oxford. Utopia . . . The whole revis'd, corrected, and improv'd
1 vol. 12mo. by A GENTLEMAN OF OXFORD. A reprint of No. 9.
- 12 *1808. London. Utopia or the Best state of a Commonwealth, *Dibdin*,
1 vol. 8vo. *clxxix* of No. 14.
- 16 *1849. London. Utopia or the Happy Republic, *London Catalogue*.
1 vol. 12mo.
- 17 1850. London. *The Phoenix Library*, selected by JOHN MINTER MOR-
1 vol. 12mo. GAN. Utopia, or The Happy Republic.

II. With other works.

- 11 1758. London. Memoirs of the Life of Sir Thomas More . . . To which
1 vol. 8vo. is added, his History of Utopia, . . . with notes historical
and explanatory by F. WARNER, LL.D.
- 15 1838. London. *The Masterpieces of Prose Literature*. Vol. iv. Utopia:
1 vol. 8vo. or the Happy Republic, with Lord Bacon's *New Atlantis*.
With a preliminary discourse by J. A. ST. JOHN, Esqre.

ARTHUR CAYLEY'S (the younger) TRANSLATION.

II. With other works.

- 13 1808. London. Memoirs of Sir Thomas More, with a new translation of
2 vols. 4to. his *Utopia*, his History of King Richard III., and his
Latin Poems. *Utopia* occupies ii. 1-145.

The
LIFE and TRAVELS
of
RAPHAEL HYTHLODAYE.

* Probable or approximate dates.

Based chiefly—besides the present work—on *Amerigo Vespucci, Son caractere, ses écrits (même les moins authentiques), sa vie et ses navigations*; by F. A. DE VARNHAGEN, Brazilian Minister to Peru, Chile, and Ecuador, &c. Lima, 1865, fol. See also *The Life and Voyages of Americus Vesputius*, by C. E. LESTER and A. FOSTER. New York, 1846, 8vo.

The same Raphael Hythlodaye (for this is his name) is very well lerned in the Latine tongue: but profounde and excellent in the Greke tongue. . . . His patrimonye that he was borne vnto, he left to his brethern (for he is a Portugal borne). *p.* 29. As concerning my frendes and kynsfolke (quod he) I passe not greatly for them. For I thinke I haue sufficiently doone my parte towards them already. *p.* 33.

As concernyng this matter, I allow the ordinaunce of no nation so wel as yat which I sawe, whiles I trauailed abroade aboute the worlde, vsed in Persia amonge the people that comenly be called the Polylerites [Polyleritæ], *p.* 47.

1494. April. The King of Spain throws open the trade and navigation of the Indies to all ships taking their departure from Cadiz.

*1495. 'There [*i.e.* in England] I taried for the space of. iiii. or .v. monethes together, not longe after the insurrection, yat the Westerne Englishe men made agaynst their King.' *p.* 36.

He stays with Cardinal Morton. At *pp.* 37-54, he gives an account of a table-talk, one day while he was in his house.

1497. May 10. The Florentine Amerigo Vespucci [b. 9 Mar. 1451—d. 22 Feb. 1512], in the employ of the King of Spain, leaves Cadiz with 4 ships. This, his first voyage, was chiefly about the Gulf of Mexico. He returns to Cadiz 15 October 1498.

1498. Oct. 15. Vespucci—again in the service of Spain—leaves Cadiz. This voyage, in part with Alonzo de Hojeda and Juan de la Cosa, brought him to the mainland of South America.

Hythlodaye, 'for the desire that he had to see, and knowe the farre Countreyes of the worlde, he ioyned himselfe in company with Amerike Vespuce, and in the. iiii. last voyages of those. iiii. . . . he continued styl in his company.' *p.* 29.

1500. Sept. Vespucci—entering the service of the king of Portugal—leaves Lisbon on his *third* voyage; in which he continues his discoveries along the coast of Brazil. He returns to Lisbon.

1501. May 14. Vespucci—still in the service of the king of Portugal—commands a ship in a squadron of 6 ships, under Gonçalo de Coelho.

1502. Sept. 7. Hythlodaye says, "When I was determyned to entre into my. iiii. voyage, I caste into the shippe in the steade of marchandise a prety fardel of bookes, bycause I intended to come againe rather neuer, than shortly."—*See list at p.* 119

1503. May [June?] 10. 'Also my companion, Tricius Apinatus caried with him phisick bookes.' *p.* 119.

The squadron crossed the line, and on 10th Aug. saw distinctly on the horizon an island—which can be no other than Fernando de Noronha. The flag-ship, of 300 tons, was wrecked on a rock near the island, but happily the crew were

- saved. Vespucci, then 4 leagues from the island, was ordered to find in it a harbour. He missed the island and lost sight of the other ships. After 8 days, however, he saw a sail on the horizon, which on joining proved to be one of them. Both vessels then returned to the island, and found the other three ships gone; anchored, took in wood, &c., and then set out for the appointed *rendezvous* in case of separation; Bahia, discovered in the previous voyage. There they arrived in 18 days; and waited for 2 months and 14 days. At length tired of the delay, the two commanders determined to explore the coast ahead. Sailing southward, they at length stopped at a port, which, (according to Varnhagen), can be no other than Cape Frio. Here they found a quantity of dye-wood (brazil), with which they loaded their ships; during a stay of 5 months.
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Oct. saved. Vespucci, then 4 leagues from the island, was ordered to find in it a harbour. He missed the island and lost sight of the other ships. After 8 days, however, he saw a sail on the horizon, which on joining proved to be one of them. Both vessels then returned to the island, and found the other three ships gone; anchored, took in wood, &c., and then set out for the appointed *rendezvous* in case of separation; Bahia, discovered in the previous voyage. There they arrived in 18 days; and waited for 2 months and 14 days. At length tired of the delay, the two commanders determined to explore the coast ahead. Sailing southward, they at length stopped at a port, which, (according to Varnhagen), can be no other than Cape Frio. Here they found a quantity of dye-wood (brazil), with which they loaded their ships; during a stay of 5 months.
1503. Nov. Before returning, they left a little factory of 24 armed men in a fortress armed with 12 guns. Then setting out, in 77 days
1504. Mar. reached Lisbon on 18 June 1503; bring the earliest tidings of either themselves or their missing consorts; which on 4 Sept. 1504, Vespucci believed to be all lost. [*Condensed from Varnhagen, pp. 114, 115.*]

Hythlodaye 'gotte the licence of mayster Americke (though it was sore agains this wyll) to be one of the. xxiii whiche in the ende of the laste voyage were left in the cuntrye of Gulike.' p. 30.

After the departyng of Mayster Vespuce, when he had traualled through and aboute many Countreyes with. v. of his companions Gulikanes [*i.e.* of the above 24: one of these five was the above named Tricius Apinatus, p. 119.] p. 30.

*1505-*1510.

Yf you had bene with me in Utopia, and had presentlye sene their fashions and lawes, as I dyd, whyche liued there. v. yeares, and moore, and wolde neuer haue commen thence, but onlye to make that newe lande knowne here. p. 69.

Amaurote . . . wherein I liued five whole yeares together. p. 77.

The ACHORIENS [Achorii], whiche be situate ouer agaynste the Iland of Utopia on the south easte side. p. 57.

The MACARIENS [Macarensii] whiche be not farre distaunt from Utopia. p. 62.

The ANEMOLIANS [Anemolii] . . . dwell farre thence, and had verie litle a[c]quaintance with' the Utopians. p. 101.

The battell whiche the Utopians fought for the NEPHELOGETES [Nephelegetæ] against the ALAOPOLITANES [Alaopolitæ] a little before oure time . . . The Nephelogeates before the warre, when the Alaopolitanes flourished in wealth, wer nothing to be compared with them. pp. 132, 133.

The ZAPOLETES [Zapoletæ]. This people is. 500. myles from Utopia eastwarde. p. 136.

Hythlodaye marries the aunt of Anemolius, the Poet Laureate of Utopia. p. 167.

But because among vs foure (for no mo of vs was left aliue, two of our companye beyng dead) there was no priest, . . . at my departure. . . . p. 144.

At the last by merueylous chaunce he [Hythlodaye] arriued in Trapobane [Ceylon] from whence he went to Calicut [Calicut], where he chaunced to fynde certayne of hys Countreyes shippes, wherein he returned agayne to his Countreye, no thing lesse then looked for. p. 30.

1515. *Nov.

Sir T. More meeting Hythlodaye in the doorway of Antwerp Cathedral, describes him as 'A man well stricken in age, with a blacke sonneburned face, a longe bearde, and a cloke cast homly about his shoulders, whome, by his fauoure and apparell furthwith I iudged to bee a mariner.' p. 29.

1516. Nov. 1.

'Very vncertain newes' (!) subsequently of Hythlodaye. p. 165.

A fruteful /

and pleasaunt worke of the
beste state of a publyque weale, and
of the newe yle called Utopia: written
in Latine by Syr Thomas More
knyght, and translated into Englyshe
by Raphe Robynson Citezein and
Goldsmythe of London, at the
procurement, and earnest re=
quest of George Tadlowe
Citezein and Haberdassher
of the same Citie.

(.·.)

¶ Imprinted at London

by Abraham Aele, dwelling in Pauls
churchyarde at the sygne of
the Lambe. Anno,

1551.



To the right

honourable, and his verie singular good maister, maister William Cecylle esquiere, one of the two principall secretaries to the kyng his moste excellentie maiestie, Raphe Robynson wissheth continuance of health, with dayly increase of vertue, and honoure.



Pon a tyme, when tidynge came too the citie of Corinthe that kyng Philippe father to Alexander furnamed ye Great, was comming thetherwarde with an armie royall to lay siege to the citie: The Corinthians being forth with stryken with greate feare, beganne busilie, and earnestly to looke aboute them, and to falle to worke of all handes. Some to skowre and trymme vp harneis, some to carry stones, some to amende and buylde hygher the walles, some to rampiere and fortyfie the bulwarkes, and fortresses, some one thyng, and some an other for the defendinge, and strenghenyng of the citie. The whiche busie labour, and toyle of theires when Diogenes the phylosopher sawe, hauing no profitable busines whereupon to sette himself on worke (neither any man required his labour, and helpe as expedient for the commen wealth in that necessitie) immediatly girded about him his phylosophicall cloke, and began to rolle, and tumble vp and downe hether and thether vpon the hille syde, that lieth adioyninge to the citie, his great barrel or tunne, wherein he dwelled: for other dwellynge place wold

he haue none. This feing one of his frendes, and not a litell mufynge therat, came to hym: And I praye the Diogenes (quod he) whie doest thou thus, or what meanest thou hereby? Forsothe I am tumblyng my tubbe to (quod he) bycause it where no reason yat I only should be ydell, where so many be working. In semblable maner, right honorable fir, though I be, as I am in dede, of mucche lesse habilitie then Diogenes was to do any thinge, that shall or may be for the auauancement and commoditie of the publique wealth of my natiue countrey: yet I feing euery sort, and kynde of people in their vocation, and degree busied occupied about the common wealthes affaires: and especially learned men dayly putting forth in writing newe inuentions, and deuises to the furtheraunce of the same: thought it my bounden duetie to God, and to my countrey so to tumble my tubbe, I meane so to occupie, and exercise meself in bestowing such spare houres, as I beinge at ye becke, and commaundement of others, cold conueniently winne to me self: yat though no commoditie of that my labour, and trauaile to the publique weale should arise, yet it myght by this appeare, yat myne endeuore, and good wille hereunto was not lacking. To the accomplishment therefore, and fulfylling of this my mynde, and purpose: I toke vpon me to tourne, and translate oute of Latine into oure Englishe tonge the frutefull, and profitable booke, which fir Thomas more knight compiled, and made of the new yle Utopia, conteining and setting forth ye best state, and fourme of a publique weale: A worke (as it appeareth) written almost fourtie yeres ago by the said fir Thomas More ye authour therof. The whiche man, forasmuche as he was a man of late tyme, yea almost of thies our dayes: and for ye excellent qualities, wherewith the great goodnes of God had plentyfully endowed him, and for ye high place, and rowme, wherunto his prince had most graciously called him, notably wel knowen, not only among vs his countremen, but also in forrein countreis and nations: therefore J

haue not much to speake of him. This only I saye: yat it is much to be lamented of al, and not only of vs English men, yat a man of so incomparable witte, of so profounde knowlege, of so absolute learning, and of so fine eloquence was yet neuerthelesse so much blinded, rather with obstinacie, then with ignoraunce yat he could not or rather would not see the shining light of godes holy truthe in certain principal pointes of Christian religion: but did rather cheuse to perseuer, and continue in his wilfull and stubbourne obstinacie euen to ye very death. This I say is a thing much to be lamented. But letting this matter passe, I retourne again to Utopia. Which (as I said befor) is a work not only for ye matter yat it containeth fruteful and profitable, but also for ye writers eloquent latine stiele pleasaunt and delectable. Which he yat readeth in latine, as ye authour himself wrote it, perfectly vnderstanding ye same: doubtles he shal take great pleasure, and delite both in ye sweete eloquence of ye writer, and also in ye wittie inuencion, and fine conueiaunce, or disposition of ye matter: but most of all in the good, and holsome lessons, which be there in great plenty, and aboundaunce. But nowe I feare greatly yat in this my simple translation through my rudenes and ignoraunce in our english tonge all the grace and pleasure of ye eloquence, wherwith ye matter in latine is finely fet forth may seme to be vtterly excluded, and lost: and therefore the frutefulnes of the matter it selfe muche peraduenture diminished, and appayred. For who knoweth not whiche knoweth any thyng, that an eloquent styele setteth forth and highly commendeth a meane matter? Where as on the other side rude, and vnlearned speche defaceth and disgraceth a very good matter. According as I harde ones a wise man say: A good tale euell tolde were better vntold, and an euell tale well tolde nedeth none other sollicitour. This thing I well pondering and wayinge with me self, and also knowing, and knowledging the barbarous rudenes of my translation was fully determined neuer

to haue put it forth in printe, had it not bene for certain frendes of myne, and especially one, whom aboue al other I regarded, a man of sage, and discret witte and in wor[l]dly matters by long vse well experienced, whoes name is George Tadlowe: an honest citizein of London, and in the same citie well accepted, and of good reputation: at whoes request, and instaunce I first toke vpon my weake, and feble sholders ye heauie, and weightie bourdein of this great enterprice. This man with diuers other, but this man chiefly (for he was able to do more with me, then many other) after that I had ones rudely brought ye worke to an ende, ceassed not by al meanes possible continually to assault me, vntil he had at ye laste, what by ye force of his pitthie argumentes and strong reasons, and what by hys authority so perswaded me, that he caused me to agree and consente to the impryntyng herof. He therefore, as the chiefe perswadour, must take vpon him the daunger, whyche vpon this bolde, and rashe enterpryse shall ensue. I, as I suppose, am herin clerely acquytte, and discharged of all blame. Yet, honorable Syr for the better auoyding of enuyous and malycyous tonges, I (knowyng you to be a man, not onlye profoundly learned, and well affected towardes all fuche, as eyther canne, or wyll take paynes in ye well bestowing of that poore talente, whyche GOD hath endued them wyth: but also for youre godlye dysposytyon, and vertuous qualytyes not vnworthelye nowe placed in aucthorytye, and called to honoure) am the bolder humblye to offer and dedycate vnto youre good maystershpype thys my sypmple woorke. Partly that vnder the fausse conducte of your protection it may the better be defended from the obloquie of them, which can say well by nothing, that pleaseth not their fond, and corrupt iudgementes, though it be els both frutesfull and godly: and partlye that by the meanes of this homely present I may the better renewe, and reuiue (which of late, as you know, I haue already begonne to do) yat old acquayntaunce, that was betwene you and me in

the time of our childhode, being then scolefellows together. Not doubting that you for your natiue goodnes, and gentelnes will accept in good parte this poore gift, as an argument, or token, that mine old good wil, and hartye affection towards you is not by reason of long tract of time, and separation of our bodies any thinge at all quayed and diminished, but rather (I affuer you) much augmented, and increased. This verely is ye chieffe cause, yat hath encouraged me to be so bolde with youre maistershippe. Els truelye this my poore present is of such simple and meane sort, that it is neyther able to recompense the least portion of your great gentelnes to me, of my part vnderferued, both in the time of our olde acquayntance, and also now lately again bountifully shewed : neither yet fitte, and mete for the very basenes of it to be offered to one so worthy, as you be. But almighty god (who therefore euer be thanked) hath auanced you to such fortune, and dignity, that you be of hability to accept thankfully aswell a mans good will as his gift. The same god graunte you and all yours long, and ioyfully
to contynue in all godlynes
and prosperytye.

(.·.)

A frutesfull

pleasaunt, and wittie worke,
of the beste state of a publike
weale, and of the newe yle, called Uto-
pia: written in Latine, by the right wor-
thie and famous Syr Thomas More
knyght, and translated into Englishe by
Raphe Robynson, sometime fellowe
of Corpus Christi College in Ox-
ford, and nowe by him at this se-
conde edition newlie peru-
sed and corrected, and
also with diuers no-
tes in the margent
augmented.

Imprinted at London, by
Abraham Uele, dwellinge in
Pauls churchyarde, at the signe
of the Lambe.

¶ The translator to the gentle reader.



Hou shalte vnderstande gentle reader that thoughe this worke of Utopia in English, come nowe the seconde tyme furth in Print, yet was it neuer my minde nor intente, that it shoulde euer haue bene Imprinted at all, as who for no such purpose toke vpon me at the firste the translation thereof: but did it onelye at the request of a frende, for his owne priuate vse, vpon hope that he wolde haue kept it secrete to hym self alone. Whom though I knew to be a man in dede, both very wittie, and also skilful, yet was I certen, that in the knowledge of the Latin tonge, he was not so well sene, as to be hable to iudge of the finenes or courtesnes of my translation. Wherfore I wente the more sleightlye through with it, propoundynge to my selfe therein, rather to please my sayde friends iudgemente, then myne owne. To the meaneffe of whose learninge I thoughte it my part to submit, and attemper my stile. Lightlie therefore I ouer ran the whole worke, and in short tyme, with more hast, then good spede, I broughte it to an ende. But as the latin prouerbe sayeth: The hastye bitche bringeth furth blind whelpes. For when this my worke was finished, the rudenes therof shewed it to be done in poste haste. How be it, rude and base though it were, yet fortune so ruled the matter that to Imprintinge it came, and that partly against my wyll. Howebeit not beinge hable in this behalfe to resist the pitthie persuasions of my frendes, and perceauing therefore none other remedy, but that furth it shoulde: I comforted myselfe for the tyme, only with this notable saying of Terence.

Ita vita est hominum, quasi quum ludas tesseris.

Si illud, quod est maxumè opus iactu non cadit:

Illud, quod cecidit forte, id arte vt corrigas.

In which verses the Poete likeneth or compareth the life of man to a diceplaiyng or a game at the tables: Meanyng therein, if that chaunce rise not, whiche is

most for the plaiers aduantage, that then the chaunce, which fortune hath sent, ought so connyngly to be played, as may be to the plaier least dammage. By the which worthy similitude surely the wittie Poete geueth vs to vnderstande, that though in any of our actes and doynge, (as it ofte chaunceth) we happen to faile and misse of our good pretended purpose, so that the successe and our intente proue thingesfarre odde: yet so we ought with wittie circumspection to handle the matter, that no euyll or incommoditie, as farre furth as may be, and as in vs lieth, do therof ensue. According to the whiche counsell, though I am in dede in comparison of an experte gamester and a conning player, but a verye bungler, yet haue I in this by chaunce, that on my side vnwares hath fallen, so (I suppose) behaued myself, that, as doubtles it might haue bene of me much more conningly handled, had I forethought so much, or doubted any such sequele at the beginninge of my plaie: so I am suer it had bene much worse then it is, if I had not in the ende loked somwhat earnestlye to my game. For though this worke came not from me so fine, so perfecte, and so exact yat at first, as surely for my smale lerning, it should haue done, yf I had then ment the publishing therof in print: yet I trust I haue now in this seconde edition taken about it such paines, yat veryefewe great faultes and notable errors are in it to be founde. Now therefore, most gentle reader, the meanesse of this simple translation, and the faultes that be therin (as I feare muche there be some) I doubt not, but thou wilt, in iust consideration of the premisses, gentlye and fauourablye winke at them. So doynge thou shalt minister vnto me good cause to thinke my labour and paynes herein not altogether bestowed in vaine.

VALE.

U Thomas More to Pe-
ter Giles, sendeth
gretynge.



Am almoste aſhamed, righte welbeloued Peter Giles, to ſend vnto you this boke of ye Utopian commen wealth, welniegh after a yeres ſpace, whiche I am ſure you looked for within a moneth and a halfe.

And no marueil. For you knewe well ynough, that I was alreadye diſbourdened of all the labour and ſtudye belongynge to the inuention in this worke, and that I had no nede at al to trouble my braines about the diſpoſition, or conueiaunce of the matter: and therefore had herein nothing els to do, but only to rehearſe thoſe thinges, whiche you and I together hard maifter Raphael tel and declare. Wherefore there was no cauſe why I ſhuld ſtudy to ſetforth the matter with eloquence: for aſmuch as his talke could not be fine and eloquent, beyng firſte not ſtudied for, but ſuddein and vnpremeditate, and then, as you know, of a man better ſene in the Greke language, then in the latin tonge. And my writynge, the niegher it ſhould approche to his homely plaine, and ſimple ſpeche, ſomuche the niegher

Trueth loueth
ſimplicite and
playnes.

ſhuld it go to the trueth: which is the onely marke, wherunto I do and ought to directe all my trauail and ſtudy herin. I graunte and confeſſe, frende Peter, myſelfe diſcharged of ſo muche labour, hauinge all theſe thinges ready done to my hande, that almoſte there was nothinge left for me to do. Elles either the inuention, or the diſpoſition of this matter myghte haue required of a witte neither baſe, neither at all vnlearned, both ſome time and leaſure, and alſo ſome ſtudie. But if it were requiſite, and neceſſarie, that the matter

shoulde also haue bene wrytten eloquentlie, and not alone truelye : of a fueretie that thyng coulede I haue performed by no tyme nor studye. But now feynge all these cares, stayes, and lettes were taken awaye, wherin elles so muche laboure and studye shoulde haue bene employed, and that there remayned no other thyng for me to do, but onelye to write playnelie the matter as I hard it spoken: that in deede was a thyng lighte and easye to be done. Howbeit to the dispatchynge of thys so lytle busynesse, my other cares and troubles did leaue almost lesse, then no leasure.

The authors
bussines and
lettres.

Whiles I doo dayelie bestowe my time aboute lawe matters : some to pleade, some to heare, some as an arbitratoure with myne awarde to determine, some as an vmpier or a Iudge, with my sentence finallie to discusse. Whiles I go one waye to see and visite my frende : an other waye about myne owne priuat affaires. Whiles I spende almost all the daye abrode emonges other, and the residue at home among mine owne ; I leaue to my self, I meane to my booke no time For when I am come home, I muste comen with my wife, chatte with my children, and talke wyth my seruantes. All the whiche thinges I reckon and accompte amonge busynesse, forasmuche as they muste of necessitie be done : and done muste they nedes be, onelesse a man wyll be straunger in his owne houle. And in any wyse a man muste so fashyon and order hys conditions, and so appoint and dispose him selfe, that he be merie, iocunde, and pleasaunt amonge them, whom eyther nature hath provided, or chaunce hath made, or he hym selfe hath chosen to be the felowes, and companyons of hys life : so that with to muche gentle behauioure and familiaritie, he do not marre them, and by to muche sufferaunce of his seruantes, makethem his maysters. Emonge these thynges now rehearsed, stealeth awaye the daye, the moneth, the yeare. When do I write then? And all this while haue I spoken no worde of slepe, neyther yet of meate, which emong a great number doth wast no lesse tyme,

then doeth slepe, wherein almoste halfe the life tyme of man crepeth awaye. I therefore do wynne Meate and slepe great wasters of time. and get onelye that tyme, whiche I steale from slepe and meate. Whiche tyme because it is very litle, and yet somwhat it is, therefore haue I ones at the laste, thoughe it be longe first, finished Utopia; and haue sent it to you, frende Peter, to reade and peruse: to the intente that yf anye thyng haue escaped me, you might put me in remembraunce of it. For thoughe in this behalfe I do not greatlye mistruste my selfe (whiche woulde God I were somwhat in wit and learninge, as I am not all of the worste and dullest memorye) yet haue I not so great truste and confidence in it, that I thinke nothinge coulde fall out of my mynde. For Iohn Clement my boye, who Iohn Clement. as you know was there presente with vs, whome I suffer to be awaye frome no talke, wherein maye be anye profyte or goodnes (for oute of this yonge bladed and new shotte vp corne, whiche hathe alreadye begon to spring vp both in Latin and Greke learnyng, I loke for plentifull increase at length of goodly rype grayne) he I saye hathe broughte me into a greate doubt. For wheras Hythlodaye (onelesse my memorye fayle me) sayde that the bridge of Amaurote, whyche goethe ouer the riuier of Anyder is fyue hundreth pafeis, that is to saye, halfe a myle in lengthe: my Iohn sayeth that two hundred of those pafeis muste be plucked away, for that the ryuer conteyneth there not aboute three hundreth pafeis in breadthe, I praye you hartelye call the matter to youre remembraunce. For yf you agree wyth hym, I also wyll saye as you saye, and confesse my selfe deceaued. But if you cannot remember the thing, then surelye I wyll write as I haue done, and as myne owne remembraunce serueth me. For as I wyll take good hede, that there be in my booke nothinge false, so yf there be anye thyng doubtfull, I wyll rather tell a lye, then make a lie: bycause I had rather be good, then A diuersitie betwene making a lye, and telling a lie. wilie. Howebeit thys matter maye easelye be remedied.

yf you wyll take the paynes to aske the question of Raphael him selfe by woorde of mouthe, if he be nowe with you, or elles by youre letters. Whiche you muste nedes do for an other doubt also, that hathe chaunced, throughe whose faulte I cannot tel: whether through

In what parte of the worlde Utopia standeth it is vnknown. mine, or yours, or Raphaels. For neyther we remembred to enquire of him, nor he to tel vs in what part of the newe world Utopia is situate. The whiche thinge, I

had rather haue spent no small somme of money, then that it should thus haue escaped vs: aswell for that I am ashamed to be ignoraunt in what sea that ylande standeth, wherof I write so long a treatise, as also because there be with vs certen men, and especiallie

It is thoughte of some that here is vnfaignedly ment the late famous vicare of Croydon in Surrey. one vertuous and godly man, and a professour of diuinitie, who is excedynge desierous to go vnto Utopia: not for a vayne and curious desyre to see newes, but to the intente he maye further and increase oure religion, whiche is there alreadye luckelye begonne.

And that he maye the better accomplyshe and perfourme this hys good intente, he is mynded to procure that he maye be sente thether by the hieghe Byshoppe: yea, and that he himselfe may be made Bishoppe of Utopia, beyng nothyng scrupulous herein, that he muste obteyne this Byshopricke with suete. For he

A godly suete. counteth that a godly suete, which procedeth not of the desire of honoure or lucre, but onelie of a godlie zeale. Wherefore I moste earnestly desire you, frende Peter, to talke with Hythlodaye,

yf you can, face to face, or els to wryte youre letters to hym, and so to woorke in thys matter, that in this my booke there maye neyther anye thinge be founde, whyche is vntrue, neyther anye thinge be lacking, whiche is true. And I thynke verelye it shalbe well done,

that you shewe vnto him the book it selfe. For yf I haue myssed or fayled in anye poynte, or if anye faulte haue escaped me, no man can so well correcte and amende it, as he can: and yet that can he not do,

oneles he peruse, and reade ouer my booke written. Moreouer by this meanes shall you perceauē, whether he be well wyllynge and content, that I shoulde vnder- take to put this woorke in writyng. For if he be mynded to publyshe, and put forth his owne laboures, and trauayles himselfe, perchaunce he woulde be lothe, and so woulde I also, that in publishynge the Utopiane weale publyque, I shoulde preuent him, and take frome him the flower and grace of the noueltie of this his historie. Howbeit, to saye the verye trueth, I am not yet fullye determind with my selfe, whether I will put furth my booke or no. For the natures of men be so diuers, the phantasies of some so waywarde, their myndes so vnkynde, their iudgementes so corrupte, that they which leade a merie and a iocounde lyfe, folowynge theyr owne sensuall pleasures and carnall lustes, maye seme to be in a muche better state or case, then they that vexe and vnquiete them- selues with cares and studie for the puttinge forthe and publishynge of some thyng, that maye be either profeit or pleasure to others: whiche others neuerthe- les will disdainfully, scornefully, and vnkindly accepte the same. The moost part of al be vnlearned. And a greate number hath learning in contempte. The rude and barbarous alloweth nothing, but that which is verie barbarous in dede. If it be one that hath a little smacke of learnynge, he reiecteth as homely geare and commen ware, whatsoeuer is not stuffed full of olde moughteaten termes, and that be worne out of vse. Some there be that haue pleasure onelye in olde rustie antiquities. And some onelie in their owne doynge. One is so fowre, so crabbed, and so vnpleasaunte, that he can awaye with no myrthe nor sporte. An other is so narrowe betwene ye sholders, that he can beare no iestes nor tauntes. Some sely poore soules be so asfearde that at euerye snappishe woorde their nose shall be bitten of, that they stande in no lesse drede of euerye quicke and sharpe woorde, than he that is bitten of a madde dogge feareth water. Some be so mutable and

The vnkynde
iudgementes of
men.

wauerynge, that euery houre they be in a newe mynde, sayinge one thinge fyttinge, and an other thyng standyng. An other forte fyttheth vpon their allebencheis, and there amonge their cuppes they geue iudgement of the wittes of writers, and with greate authoritie they condempne euen as pleaseth them, euerye writer accordyng to his writinge, in moste spitefull maner mockyng, lowtyng, and flowtyng them; beyng them selues in the meane season fauffe, and as sayeth the prouerbe, oute of all daunger of goneshotte. For why, they be so smugge and smothe, that they haue not so much as one hearre of an honeste man, wherby one may take holde of them. There be moreouer some so vnkynde and vngentle, that though they take great pleasure, and delectation in the worke, yet for all that, they can not fynde in their hertes to loue the Author therof, nor to aforde him a good worde: beyng much like vncourteous, vnthankfull, and chourlish gestes. Whiche when

A fitte Similitude.

they haue with good and daintie meates well fylled their bellyes, departe home, geuyng no thanks to the feaste maker. Go your wayes now, and make a costlye feaste at youre owne charges for gestes so dayntie mouthed, so diuers in taste, and besides that of so vnkynde and vnthankfull natures. But neuertheles (frende Peter) doo, I pray you, with Hithlo-day, as I willed you before. And as for this matter I shall be at my libertie, afterwardes to take newe aduifement. Howbeit, seeyng I haue taken great paynes and laboure in writyng the matter, if it may stande with his mynde and pleasure, I wyll as touchyng the edition or publishyng of the booke, followe the counsell and aduise of my frendes, and speciallye yours. Thus fare you well right her-

tely beloued frende Peter, with
 your gentle wife: and loue
 me as you haue euer done,
 for I loue you better
 then euer I
 dyd.

I The first

Booke of the communication of
Raphael Hythloday, concerning
the best state of a common welth.



He moſte victorious and triumphant
Kynge of Englande Henrye the
eyght of that name, in al roial
vertues, a Prince moſt pereleſſe,
hadde of late in controuerſie with
Charles, the right highe and mightye
Kynge of Caſtell, weighty matters,
and of great importaunce. For

the debatement and final determination wherof, the
kynge Maieſty ſent me Ambaſſadour into Flaunders,
ioyned in Commiſſion with Cuthbert Tun-
ſtall, a man doutleſſe out of compariſon,
and whom the Kynge Maieſtie of late, to the great
reioyſynge of all men, dyd preferre to the office of
Maieſter of the Rolles.

Cuthbert
Tunſtall.

But of this mannes prayſes I wyll ſaye nothyng, not
bicauſe I doo feare that ſmall credence ſhalbe geuen
to the teſtimonye that cometh out of a frendes mouthe:
but bicauſe his vertue and lernyng be greater, and of
more excellency, then that I am able to praife them:
and alſo in all places ſo famous and ſo perfectly well
knowne, that they neede not, nor oughte not of me to
bee prayſed, vnleſſe I woulde ſeeme to ſhew, and ſet-
furth the brightnes of the ſonne with a candell, as the
Prouerbe ſaieth. There mette vs at Bruges (for thus
it was before agreed) thei whom their Prince hadde for
that matter appoynted Commiſſioners: excellent men

all. The chiefe and the head of theym was the Mar-
graue (as thei call him) of Bruges, a right honorable man :
but the wisest and the best spoken of them was George
Temfice, prouost of Casselles, a man, not only by learn-
yng, but also by nature of singular eloquence, and in
the lawes profoundly learned: but in reasonyng, and
debatyng of matters what by his naturall witte, and
what by daily exercife, surely he hadde few fellowes.
After that we had once or twise mette, and vpon cer-
tayne poyntes or articles coulde not fully and throughly
agree, they for a certayne fpace tooke their leaue of vs,
and departed to Bruxelle, there to know their Princes
pleasure. I in the meane time (for so my busines laye)
wente streight thence to Antwerpe. Whiles I was
there abidyng, often times amonge other, but whiche
to me was more welcome then annye other, dyd visite

me one Peter Giles, a Citifsen of Antwerpe,
Peter Gyles. a man there in his countrey of honest repu-
tation, and also preferred to high promotions, worthy
truly of the hyghest. For it is hard to say, whether the
yong man be in learnyng, or in honestye more excel-
lent. For he is bothe of wonderfull vertuous condi-
tions, and also singularly wel learned, and towards all
fortes of people excedyng gentyll: But towards his
frendes so kynde herted, so louyng, so faithfull, so trust-
tye, and of so earnest affection, that it were verye harde
in any place to fynde a man, that with him in all poyntes
of frendshippe maye be compared. No man can be
more lowlye or courteous. No man vseth lesse simula-
tion or diffimulation, in no man is more prudent sim-
plicitie. Besides this, he is in his talke and communi-
cation so merye and pleasaunte, yea and that withoute
harme, that throughe his gentyll intertaynement, and
his sweete and delectable communication, in me was
greatly abated, and diminished the feruente desyre, that
I had to see my natiue countrey, my wyfe and my chyl-
dren, whom then I dyd muche longe and couete to see,
because that at that time I had been more then. iiii.
Monethes from them. Vpon a certayne daye when I

hadde herde the diuine seruice in our Ladies Church, which is the fayrest, the most gorgeous and curious Church of buyldyng in all the Citie, and also most frequented of people, and the seruice beyng doone, was readye to go home to my lodgyng, I chaunced to espye this foresayde Peter talkyng with a certayne Straunger, a man well stricken in age, with a blacke sonneburned face, a longe bearde, and a cloke cast homly about his shoulders, whome, by his fauoure and apparell furthwith I iudged to bee a mariner. But the sayde Peter seyng me, came vnto me, and saluted me.

And as I was aboute to answere him: see you this man, sayth he (and therewith he poynted to the man, that I sawe hym talkyng with before) I was mynded, quod he, to bryng him strayghte home to you.

He should haue ben very welcome to me, sayd I, for your sake.

Nay (quod he) for his owne sake, if you knewe him: for there is no man thys day liuyng, that can tell you of so manye straunge and vnknowne peoples, and Countreyes, as this man can. And I know wel that you be very desirous to heare of suche newes.

Then I coniectured not farre a misse (quod I) for euen at the first syght, I iudged him to be a mariner.

Naye (quod he) there ye were greatly deceyued: he hath failed in deede, not as the mariner Palinure, but as the experte and prudent prince Vliffes: Yea, rather as the auncient and sage Philosopher Plato. For this same ^{Raphaell} Raphaell Hythlodaye (for this is his name) is ^{Hithlodaye} very well lerned in the Latine tongue: but profoude and excellent in the Greke language. Wherin he euer bestowed more studye then in the Latine, bycause he had geuen himselfe wholly to the study of Philosophy. Wherof he knew that ther is nothyng extante in Latine, that is to anye purpose, fauyng a fewe of Senecaes, and Ciceroes dooynges. His patrimonye that he was borne vnto, he lefte to his brethern (for he is a Portugall borne) and for the desire that he had to see, and knowe the farre Countreyes of the worlde, he ioyned

himselfe in company with Amerike Vespuce, and in the. iii. last voyages of those. iiii. that be nowe in printe, and abrode in euery mannes handes, he continued styll in his company, sauyng that in the last voyage he came not home agayne with him. For he made fuche meanes and shift, what by intretaunce, and what by importune sute, that he gotte licence of mayster Americke (though it were fore against his wyll) to be one of the. xxiiii whiche in the ende of the last voyage were left in the countrey of Gulike. He was therefore lefte behynde for hys mynde sake, as one that tooke more thoughte and care for trauailyng, then dyenge: hauyng customably in his mouth these saynges. He that hathe no graue, is couered with the skye: and, the way to heauen out of all places is of like length and distaunce. Which fantasy of his. (if God had not ben his better frende) he had surely bought full deare. But after the departyng of Mayster Vespuce, when he had trauailed thorough and aboute many Countreyes with. v. of his companions Gulikianes, at the last by merueylous chaunce he arriued in Taprobane, from whence he went to Caliquit, where he chaunced to fynde certayne of hys Countreye shippes, wherein he retourned agayne into his Countreye, nothyng leffe then looked for.

All this when Peterhadde toldme: I thanked him for his gentle kindnesse, that he had vouchsafed to bryng me to the speache of that man, whose communication: he thoughte shoulde be to me pleasaunte, and acceptable. And therewith I tourned me to Raphaell. And when wee hadde haylsed eche other: and had spoken these commune wordes, that bee customablye spoken at the first meting, and acquaintaunce of straungers, we went thence to my house, and there in my gardaine vpon a bench couered with greene torues, we satte downe talkyng together. There he tolde vs, how that after the departyng of Vespuce, he and his fellows that taried behynde in Gulicke, began by litle and litle, throughe fayre and gentle speache, to wyne the loue and faouere of the people of that countreye, insomuche

that within shorte space, they dyd dwell amonges them, not only harmlesse, but also occupi yng with them veye familiarly. He tolde vs also, that they were in high reputation and fauour with a certayne great man (whose name and Countreye is nowe quite out of my remembraunce) which of his mere liberalitie dyd beare the costes and charges of him and his fyue companions. And besides that gaue them a trustye guyde to conducte them in their iourney (which by water was in botes, and by land in wagons) and to brynge them to other Princes with veye frendlye commendations. Thus after manye dayes iourneys, he sayd, they founde townes, and Cities, and weale publiques, full of people, gouerned by good and holfome lawes. For vnder the line equinoctiall, and on bothe fydes of the same, as farre as the Sonne doth extende his course, lyeth (quod he) great, and wyde desertes and wilderesses, parched, burned, and dryed vp with continuall and intollerable heate. All thynges bee hideous, terrible, lothesome, and vnpleasaunt to beholde: All thynges out of fasyon, and comelinesse, inhabited withe wylde Beastes. and Serpentes, or at the leaste wyse, with people, that be no lesse sauage, wylde, and noysome, then the veye beastes them selues be. But a little farther beyonde that, all thynges beginne by litle and lytle to waxe pleasaunte. The ayre softe, temperate and, gentle. The grounde couered with grene grasse. Lesse wildnesse in the beastes. At the last shall ye come agayne to people, cities and townes wherein is continuall entercourse and occupi yng of merchaundise and chaffare, not only among themselues, and with their Borderers, but also with Merchauntes of farre Countreyes, bothe by lande and water. There I had occasion (sayd he) to go to many countreyes on euery syde. For there was no shippe ready to any voyage or iourney, but I and my fellowes were into it very gladly receyued. Shippes of
The shippes that thei founde first were straunge fassions made playn, flatte, and broade in the botome, trough wife. The sayles were made of great ruffhes, or of

wickers, and in some places of lether. Afterwarde thei founde shippes with ridged kyeles: and sayles of canuasse, yea, and shortly after hauyng all thynges lyke oures. The shipmen also very experte and cunnyng, bothe in the sea, and in the wether. But he saide, that he founde great fauoure and frendship amonge them, for teachyng them the feate and the vse of the lode stone. Whiche to them before that time was vnknowne. And therefore they were wonte to be verye timerous and fearfull vpon the sea: Nor to venter vpon it, but only in the fomer time. But nowe they haue suche a confidence in that stone, that they feare not stormy winter: in so dooyng farther from care then daunger, In so muche, that it is greatly to be doubted, lest that thyng, throughe their owne folish hardinesse, shall tourne them to euyll and harme, which at the first was supposed shoulde be to them good and commodious.

But what he tolde vs that he sawe in euerye countreye where he came, it were very longe to declare. Neither it is my purpose at this time to make reherfall therof. But peraduenture in an other place I wyll speake of it, chieflye suche thynges as shall be profitable too bee knowen, as in speciall be those decrees and ordinaunces, that he marked to be well and wittely prouided and enacted amonge suche peoples, as do liue together in a ciuile policie, and good ordre. For of suche thynges dyd wee buselye enquire, and demaunde of him, and he likewise very willingly tolde vs of the same. But as for monstres, bycause they be no newes, of them we were nothyng inquisitiue. For nothyng is more easye to bee founde. then bee barkyng Scyllaes, rauenyng Celenes, and Leftrigones deuourers of people, and suche lyke great, and incredible monstres. But to fynde Citifens ruled by good and holsome lawes, that is an exceding rare, and harde thyng. But as he marked many fonde, and folisshe lawes in those newe founde landes, so he reherfed diuers actes, and constitutions, whereby these oure Cities, Nations, Countreis,

and Kyngdomes may take example to amende their faultes, enormities and errours. Wherof in another place (as I sayde) I wyll intreate.

Now at this time I am determind to reherse onely that he tolde vs of the maners, customes, lawes, and ordinaunces of the Utopians. But first I wyll repete oure former communication by th[e] occasion, and (as I might saye) the drifte wherof, he was brought into the mention of that weale publique.

For, when Raphael had very prudentlye touched diuers thynges, that be amisse, some here, and some there, yea, very many on bothe partes, and againe had spoken of fuche wise lawes, and prudente decrees, as be establihed, and vsed, bothe here amonge vs, and also there amonge theym, as a man so perfecte, and experte in the lawes, and customes of euery feuerall Countrey, as though into what place foeuer he came geastwise, there he had ledde al his life: then Peter muche meruailynge at the man: Surely maister Raphael (quod he) I wondre greatly, why you gette you not into some kinges courte. For I am sure, there is no Prince liuyng, that wold not be very glad of you, as a man not only hable highly to delite him with your profounde learnyng, and this your knowlege of countreis, and peoples, but also mete to instructe him with examples, and helpe him with counsell. And thus doyng, you shall bryng your selfe in a verye good case, and also be of habilitie to helpe all your frendes and kinffolke.

As concernyng my frendes and kynffolke (quod he) I passe not greatly for them. For I thinke I haue sufficently doone my parte towards them already. For these thynges, that other men doo not departe from, vntyl they be olde and fycke, yea, whiche they be then verye lothe to leaue, when they canne no longer keepe, those verye fame thynges dyd I beyng not only lustye, and in good helth, but also in the floure of my youth, diuide among my frendes and kynffolkes. Which I thynke with this my liberalitie ought to holde them contented, and not to requite nor to ioke that beydes this, I shoulde

for their fakes geue myfelfe in bondage vnto Kinges.

Nay, God forbyd that (quod Peter) it is notte my mynde that you shoulde be in bondage to Kynges, but as a retainour to them at your pleasure. Whiche surely I thinke is the nigheft waye that you can deuife howe to bestowe your time frutefully, not onlye for the priuate commoditie of your frendes, and for the generall profite of all fortes of people, but also for th[e] aduauncement of your self to a much welthier state, and condition, then you be nowe in.

To a welthier condition (quod Raphael) by that meanes, that my mynde standeth cleane agaynst? Now I lyue at libertie after myne owne mynde and pleasure, whiche I thynke verye fewe of these great states, and pieres of realmes can saye. Yea, and there be ynow of them that sue for great mens frendeshippes: and therefore thinke it no great hurte, if they haue not me, nor. iii. or. iiii. suche other as I am.

Well, I perceiue playnly frende Raphael (quod I) that you be desirous neither of richesse, nor of power. And truly I haue in no lesse reuerence and estimation a man of your mynde, then anye of them all that bee so high in power and authoritie. But you shall doo as it becometh you: yea, and accordyng to this wifdome, to this high and free courage of yours, if you can finde in your herte so to appoynt and dispose your selfe, that you mai applye your witte and diligence to the profite of the weale publique, though it be somewhat to youre owne payne and hyndraunce. And this shall you neuer so wel doe, nor wyth so greate proffitte perfourme, as yf you be of some greate princes counsel, and put into his heade (as I doubt not but you wyl) honeste opinions, and vertuous perswasions. For from the prince, as from a perpetual wel sprynge, commethe amonge the people the floode of al that is good or euell. But in you is so perfitte lernynge, that wythoute anye experience, and agayne so greate experience, that wythoute anye lernynge you maye well be any kinges counsellour.

You be twyfe deceaued maister More (quod he) fyrste in me, and agayne in the thinge it selfe. For neither is in

me the habilitie that you force vpon me, and yf it wer neuer so much, yet in disquieting myne owne quietnes I should nothing further the weale publike. For first of all, the mosse parte of all princes haue more delyte in warlike matters, and feates of chiuallrie (ye knowlege wherof I neither haue nor desire) than in the good feates of peace: and employe muche more study, how by right or by wrong to enlarge their dominions, than howe wel, and peaceable to rule, and gouerne that they haue alredie. Moreouer, they that be counsellours to kinges, euery one of them eyther is of him selfe so wise in dede, that he nedeth not, or elles he thinketh himself so wise, yat he wil not allowe an other mans counsel, sauing that they do shamefully, and flatteringly geue assent to the fond and folishe sayinges of certeyn great men. Whose fauours, bicause they be in high authoritie with their prince, by assentation and flatterie they labour to obteyne. And verily it is naturally geuen to all men to esteeme their owne inuentions best. So both the Rauens and the Ape thincke their owne yonge ones fairest. Than if a man in such a company, where some disdayne and haue despite at other mens inuentions, and some counte their owne best, if among suche menne (I say) a man should bringe furth any thinge, that he hath redde done in tymes paste, or that he hath sene done in other places: there the hearers, fare as though the whole existimation of their wisdome were in ieoperdye to be ouerthrowen, and that euer after thei shoulde be counted for verye disorders, vnles they could in other mens inuentions pycke out matter to reprehend, and find fault at.

If all other poore helpes fayle: then this is Triptakers.
 their extreame refuge. These thinges (say they) pleased our forefathers and auncestours: wolde God we coulde be so wise as thei were: and as though thei had wittely concluded the matter, and with this answere stopped euery mans mouth, thei sitte downe againe. As who should sai, it were a very daungerous matter, if a man in any pointe should be founde wiser, then his forefathers were. And yet bee we content to suffre the

best and wittiest of their decrees to lye vnexecuted: but if in any thing a better ordre might haue ben taken, then by them was, there we take fast hold, findyng therin many faultes. Many tymes haue I chaunced vpparcial iudge- on such proude, leude, ouerthwarte, and way- mentes. ward iudgementes, yea, and once in England:

I prai you Syr (quod I) haue you ben in our countrey?

Yea forsoth (quod he) and there I taried for the space of. iiii. or. v. monethes together, not longe after the infurrection, yat the Westerne English men made agaynst their Kyng, which by their owne miserable and pitiful slaughter was suppressed and ended. In the meane season I was muche bounde and beholdyng to the righte reuerende father, Ihon Morton, Cardinall Morton. Archebifhop and Cardinal of Canterbury, and at that time also lorde Chauncelloure of Englande: a man Mayster Peter (for Mayster More knoweth already that I wyll saye) not more honorable for his authoritie, then for his prudence and vertue. He was of a meane stature, and though stricken in age, yet bare he his bodye vpright. In his face did shine such an amiable reuerence, as was pleasaunte to beholde, Gentill in communication, yet earnest, and sage. He had great delite manye times with roughe speache to his sewters, to proue, but withoute harme, what prompte witte, and what bolde spirite were in euery man. In the which as in a vertue much agreinge with his nature, so that therewith were not ioyned impudency, he toke greate delectatyon. And the same person, as apte and mete to haue an administratyon in the weale publike, he dyd louingly embrace. In his speche he was fyne, eloquent, and pythye. In the lawe he had profounde knowledge, in witte he was incomparable, and in memory wonderful excellent. These qualities, which in hym were by nature singular, he by learnyng and vse had made perfecte. The Kyng put muche truste in his counsel, the weale publyque also in a maner leaned vnto hym, when I was there. For euen in the chiefe of his youth he was taken from schole into the Courte, and there passed

all his tyme in much trouble and busines, beyng continually tumbled and tossed in the waues of dyuers misfortunes and aduerfities. And so by many and greate daungers he lerned the experience of the worlde, whiche so beinge learned can not easely be forgotten. It chaunced on a certayne daye, when I fate at his table, there was also a certayne laye man cunnyng in the lawes of youre Realme. Who, I can not tell wherof takynge occasion, began diligently and earnestly to prayse that strayte and rygorous iustice, which at that tyme was there executed vpon fellones, who as he sayde, were for the most parte. xx. hanged together vpon one gallowes. And, seyng so fewe escaped punyshment, he sayde he coulde not chuse, but greatly wonder and maruel, howe and by what euil lucke it shold so come to passe, that theues neuertheles were in euery place so ryffe and so rancke. Naye Syr quod I (for I durst boldly speake my minde before the Cardinal) maruel nothinge here at: for this punyshment of theues passeth the limites of Iustice, and is also very hurtefull to the weale publique. For it is to extreame and cruel a punyshment for thefte, and yet not sufficient to refrayne and withhold men from thefte. For simple thefte is not so great an offense, that it owght to be punished with death. Neither ther is any punyshment so horrible, that it can kepe them from stealyng, which haue no other craft, wherby to get their liuing. Therefore in this poynte, not you onlye, but also the most part of the world, be like euill scholemaisters, which be readyer to beate, then to teache, their scholers. For great and horrible punyshmentes be appointed for theues. whereas much rather prouision shoulde haue ben made, that there were some meanes, whereby they myght get their liuyng, so that no man shoulde be dryuen to this extreme necessitie. firste to steale, and then to dye. Yes (quod he) this matter is wel ynough prouided for already. There be handy craftes, there is husbandrye to gette their liuyng by. if they would not willingly be nought.

Of lawes not made according to equitie.

By what meanes ther might be fewer theues and robbers.

Nay, quod I, you shall not skape so: for first of all, I wyll speake nothyng of them, that come home oute of the warres, maymed and lame, as not longe ago, oute of Blacke heath fielde, and a litell before that, out of the warres in Fraunce: fuche, I saye, as put their liues in ieoperdye for the weale publiques or the kynges sake, and by reason of weakenesse and lamenesse be not hable to occupye their olde craftes, and be to aged to lerne new: of them I wyll speake nothing, forasmuch as warres haue their ordinarie recourse. But let vs confidre those thinges that chaunce daily before our eyes. First there is a great numbere of gentlemen, which can not be content to liue idle themselves, lyke dorres, of yat whiche other haue laboured for: their tenauntes I meane, whom they polle and shauie to the quicke, by reifing their rentes (for this onlye poynte of frugalitie do they vse, men els through their lauaffe and prodigall spendyng, hable to brynge themselfes to verye beggerye) these gentlemen, I say, do not only liue in idleness themselves, but also carrye about with them at their tailles a great flocke or traine of idle and loyteryng seruuyngmen, which neuer learned any craft wherby to gette their liuynges. These men as sone as their mayster is dead, or be sicke themselves, be incontinent thrust out of doores. For gentlemen hadde rather keepe idle persones, then sicke men, and many times the dead mans heyre is not hable to mainteine so great a house, and kepe so many seruyng men as his father dyd. Then in the meane season they that be thus destitute of seruice, either starue for honger, or manfullye playe the theues. For what would you haue them to do? When they haue wandred abrode so longe, vntyl they haue worne threde bare their apparell, and also appaired their helth, then gentlemen because of their pale and sickely faces, and patched cotes, wil not take them into seruice. And husbandmen dare not set them a worke: Knowyng weynoughe that he is nothing mete to doe trewe and

Idleness the
mother of
theues.

Landlordes by
the way check-
ed for Rent-
raisynge.

Of Idle seru-
yng men come
theues.

faythful seruice to a poore man wyth a spade and a mattoke for small wages and hard fare, whyche beyng deyntely and tenderly pampered vp in ydilnes and pleasure, was wont with a sworde and a buckler by hys fyde to iette through the strete with a bragginge loke, and to thynke hym selfe to good to be anye mans mate. Naye by faynt Mary fir (quod the lawier) not so. For this kinde of men muste we make moste of. For in them as men of stowter stomackes, bolder spirites, and manlyer courages then handycraftes men and plowemen be, doth consiste the whole powre, strength, and puissaunce of oure army, when we muste fight in battayle. Forsothe fir aswell you myghte saye (quod I) yat for warres sake you muste cheryshe theues. For fuerly you shall neuer lacke theues, whyles you haue them. No nor theues be not the moste false and faynt harted soldiers, nor souldiours be not the cowardleste theues: so wel thees. ii. craftes agree together. But this faulte, though it be much vsed amonge you, yet is it not peculiar to you only, but commen also almoste to all nations. Yet Fraunce besides this is troubled and infected with a much forer plage. The whole royalm is fylled and besieged with hiered souldiours in peace tyme (yf that bee peace) whyche be brought in vnder the same colour and pretense, that hath perswaded you to kepe these ydell seruyng men. For thies wysefooles and verye archedoltes thought the wealthe of the whole countrey herin to consist, if there were euer in a redinesse a stronge and sure garrison, specially of old practised souldiours, for they put no trust at all in men vnexercised. And therefore they must be forced to seke for warre, to the ende thei may euer haue practised souldiours, and cunning mansleiers, lest that (as it is pretely sayde of Salust) their handes and their mindes through idlenes or lacke of exercise, should waxe dul. But howe pernicious and pestilenet a thyng it is to maintayne suche beastes, the Frenche men, by their owne harmes haue learned, and the examples of the Romaynes, Carthaginiens, Syriens, and of man-

Betweene soldiers and theues smal diversitie.

ye other countreyes doo manifestly declare. For not
 onlye the Empire, but also the fieldes and
 Cities of all these, by diuers occasions haue
 been ouerruned and destroyed of their
 ownearmies before hande had in a redineffe.
 Now how vnneccessary a thinge this is,
 hereby it maye appeare: that the Frenche souldiours,
 which from their youth haue ben practifed and inured
 in feates of armes, do not cracke nor aduaunce them-
 selves to haue very often gotte the vpper hand and
 maistry of your new made and vnpractifed souldiours.
 But in this poynte I wyll not vse many woordes, leste
 perchaunce I maye seeme to flatter you. No nor those
 same handy crafte men of yours in Cities, nor yet the
 rude and vplandish plowmen of the countreye, are not
 supposed to be greatly affrayde of your gentlemens idle
 seruynghmen, vnlesse it be fuche as be not of body or
 stature correspondent to their strenght and courage,
 orels whose bolde stomakes be discouraged throughe
 pouertie. Thus you may see, that it is not to be feared
 lest they shoulde be effeminated, if thei were brought
 vp in good craftes and labourfome woorkes, whereby
 to gette their liuynghes, whose stoute and sturdye bodyes
 (for gentlemen vouchsafe to corrupte and spill none
 but picked and chofen men) now either by reason of
 rest and idlennesse be brought to weakenesse: orels by
 easy and womanly exercises be made feble, and vn-
 able to endure hardnesse. Truly howe so euer the
 case standeth, thys me thinketh is nothing auayeable
 to the weale publike, for warre sake, which you neuer
 haue, but when you wyl your selves, to keepe and main-
 teyn an vnnumerable flocke of that sort of men, that
 be so troublefome and noyous in peace. Wherof you
 ought to haue a thowfand times more regarde, then of
 warre. But yet this is not only the necessary cause of
 stealing. There is an other, whych, as I suppose, is
 p[ro]per and peculiar to you Englishmen alone. What is
 that, quod the Cardinal? forsoth my lorde (quod I)
 your shepe that were wont to be so meke and tame, and

What incon-
 ueniences com-
 eth by con-
 tinuall gari-
 sons of souldiours.

so smal eaters, now, as I heare saye, be become so great deuowerers and so wylde, that they eate vp, and swallow downe the very men them selves. They consume, destroye, and deuoure whole fieldes, howses, and cities. For looke in what partes of the realme doth growe the fynest, and therefore dearest woll, there noble men, and gentlemen: yea and certeyn Abbottes, holy men no doubt, not contenting them selves with the yearely reuenues and profytes, that were wont to grow to theyr forefathers and predecessours of their landes, nor beyng content that they liue in rest and pleasure nothinge profiting, yea much noyinge the weale publique: leaue no grounde for tillage, thei inclose al into pastures: thei throw doune houses: they plucke downe townes, and leaue nothing standyng, but only the churche to be made a shepewse. And as thoughe you losse no small quantity of grounde by forestes, chafes, laundes, and parkes, those good holy men turne all dwellinge places and all glebeland into desolation and wildernes. Therefore that on couetous and vnstiable cormaraunte and very plage of his natyue contrey maye compasse aboute and inclose many thousand akers of grounde to gether within one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust owte of their owne, or els either by coueyne and fraude, or by violent oppression they be put besydes it, or by wronges and iniuries thei be so wried, that they be compelled to sell all: by one meanes therefore or by other, either by hooke or crooke they muste needes departe awaye, poore, felye, wretched soules, men, women, husbands, wiues, fatherlesse children, widowes, wofull mothers, with their yonge babes, and their whole houshold smal in substance, and mucche in nombre, as husbandrye requireth manye handes. Awaye thei trudge, I say, out of their knowen and accustomed houses, fyndyng no place to reste in. All their housholdestuffe, whiche is verye litle woorth, thoughe it myght well abide the sale: yet beeyng sodainely thruste oute, they be con-

English shepe
deuourers of
men.

Shepe mai-
sters decayers
of husbandrye.

The decaye of husbandry causeth beggery, which is the mother of vagaboundes and theues. strayned to sell it for a thing of nought. And when they haue wandered abroad tyll that be spent, what can they then els doo but steale, and then iustly pardy be hanged, or els go about a beggyng. And yet then also they be caste in prifon as vagaboundes, because they go aboute and worke not: whom no man wyl set a worke, though thei neuer so willyngly profre themselves therto. For one Shepheard or Heardman is ynoughe to eate vp that grounde with cattel, to the occupieng wherof aboute husbandrye manye handes were requisite. And this is also the cause why victualles be now in many places dearer. Yea, besides this the price of wolle is so ryfen, that poore folkes, which were wont to worke it, and make cloth therof, be nowe hable to bye none at all. And by thys meanes verye manye be forced to forsake worke, and to geue them selves to idelnesse. For after that so much grounde was inclosed for pasture, an infinite multitude of shepe dyed of the rotte, suche vengeance God toke of their inordinate and vnfacible couetousnes, sendinge amonge the shepe that pestiferous morrein, whiche much more iustly shoulde haue fallen on the shepemaisters owne heades. And though the number of shepe increase neuer so faste, yet the price falleth not one myte, because there be so fewe fellers. For they be almooste all comen into a fewe riche mennes handes, whome no neade forceth to sell before they lust, and they luste not before they maye sell as deare as they luste. Now the same cause bringeth in like dearth of the other kindes of cattel, yea and that so much ye more, bicause that after fermes plucked downe, and husbandry decaied, there is no man that passethe for the breadynge of younge stoores. For these riche men brynge not vp the yonge ones of greate cattel as they do lambes. But first they bie them abroad verie chepe, and afterward when they be fatted in their pas-

The cause of dearth of victualles.

What inconuenience commeth of dearth of wolle.

The cause of dearth of wol.

Dearth of cattel with the cause thereof.

tures, they sell them agayne excedynge deare. And therefore (as I suppose) the whole incommoditie hereof is not yet felte. For yet they make dearth onely in those places, where they sell. But when they shall fetch them away from thence wheare they be bredde faster then they can be broughte vp: then shall there also be felte greate dearth, floore beginning there to faile, where the ware is boughte. Thus the vnreasonable couetousnes of a few hath turned yat thing to the vtter vndoing of your ylande, in the whiche thyng the cheife felicitie of your realme did consist. For this greate dearth of victualles causeth men to kepe as litle houses, and as smale hospitalitie as they possible maye, and to put away their seruantes: whether, I pray you, but a beggyng: or elles (whyche these gentell bloudes, and stoute stomackes, wyll sooner set their myndes vnto) a stealing? Nowe to amende the matter, to this wretched beggerie, and miserable pouertie is ioyned greate wantonnes, importunate superfluitie, and exceffiue riote. For not only gentle mennes seruantes, but also handicrafte men: yea and almooste the ploughmen of the countrey, with al other sortes of people, vse muche straunge and proude newefanglenes in their apparell, and to muche prodigall riotte, and sumptuous fare at their table. Nowe bawdes, queines, whoores, harlottes, strumpettes, brothelhouses, stewes, and yet an other stewes wynetauernes, ale houses, and tiplinge houses, with so manye noughtie, lewde, and vnlawfull games, as dyce, cardes, tables, tennis, boules, coytes, do not all these sende the haunTERS of them streyghte a stealyng when theyr money is gone? Caste oute these pernicious abominations, make a lawe, that they, whiche plucked downe fermes, and townes of husbandrie, shal reedifie them, or els yelde, and vprender the possession therof to suche, as wil go to the cost of buylding them anewe. Suffer not these riche men

Dearth of victuales is the decay of house keeping; whereof ensueth beggery and thefte.

Excesse in apparell and diet a mainteiner of beggery and thefte.

Bawdes, whoores, winetauernes, alehouses, and vnlawfull games be very mothers of theues.

to bie vp al, to ingrosse, and forstalle, and with their monopolye to kepe the market alone as please them.

Rich men in-
grossers and
forestallers.

Let not so many be brought vp in idelnes, let husbandry and tillage be restored, let clothe-working be renewed, that ther may be honest labours for this idell fort to passe their tyme in profitablye, whiche hitherto either pouertie hath caused to be theues, or elles nowe be either vagabondes, or idel seruing men, and shortelye wilbe theues. Doubtles onles you finde a remedy for these enormities, you shall in vaine aduance your selues of executing iustice vpon fellows.

For this iustice is more beautiful in apperaunce, and more florishynge to the shewe, then either iuste or profitable. For by suffring your youthe wantonlie, and viciously to be brought vp, and to be infected, euen frome

The corrupte
education of
youth a mother
of theuery.

theyr tender age, by litle and litle with vice: then a goddes name to be punished, when they commit the same faultes after being come to mans state, which from their youthe they were euer like to do: In this pointe, I praye you, what other thing do you, then make theues, and then punish them? Now as I was thus speakeinge, the Lawier began to make hym selfe readie to answere, and was determined with him selfe to vse the common fashion, and trade of disputers, whiche be more diligent in reherfinge, then answering, as thinking the memorie worthy of the chief praise. In dede sir, quod he, you haue said wel, being but a straunger, and one that myghte rather heare some thing of these matters, then haue any exacte or perfecte knowledge of the same, as I wil incontinent by open proffe make manifest and plaine. For firste I will reherse in order all that you haue sayde: then I wyll declare wherein you be deceaued, through lacke of knowledge, in all oure fashions, maners and customes: and last of all I will aunswere youre argumentes, and confute them euery one. Firste therefore I wyll begynne where I promysed. Foure thynges you semed to me. Holde youre peace, quod the Car.

dinall: for it appeareth that you will make no shorte aunswere, which make suche a beginnyng. Wherefore at this time you shall not take the paynes to make youre aun[s]were, but kepe it to youre nexte meatyng, which I woulde be righte glad, that it might be euen to morrowe next, onles either you or mayster Raphael haue any earnest let. But nowe mayster Raphael, I woulde verye gladly heare of you, why you thinke theste not worthy to be punished with deathe, or what other punishmente you can deuise more expedient to the weale publique. For I am sure you are not of that minde, that you woulde haue theste escape vnpunished. For yf nowe the extreme punishmente of deathe can not cause them to leaue stealinge, then yf ruffians and robbers should be fuer of their lyues: what violence, what feare were hable to holde their handes from robbinge, whiche woulde take the mitigation of the punishmente, as a a verye prouocation to the mischiefe? Suerlye my lorde, quod I, I thinke it not ryght nor iustice, that ye losse of money should cause the losse of mans life. For myne opinion is, that all the goodes in the worlde are not hable to counteruayle mans life. But if they would thus say: that the breakyng of iustice, and the transgression of the lawes is recompensed with this punishment, and not the losse of the money, then why maye not this extreme and rigorous iustice wel be called plaine iniurie? For so cruell gouernaunce, so streite rules, and vnmercyful lawes be not allowable, that if a small offense be committed, by and by the sword should be drawen: Nor so stoical ordinaunces are to be borne withall, as to counte al offenses of suche equalitie, that the killing of a man, or the takyng of his money from him were both a matter, and the one no more heinous offense then the other: betwene the whyche two, yf we haue anye respecte to equitie, no similitude or equalitie consisteth. God commaundeth vs that we shall not kill. And be we

He is worthe-
lie put to silence
that is to full
of wordes.

That theste
ought not to be
punished by
death.

Straite lawes
not allowable.

then so hastie to kill a man for takinge a litle money? And if any man woulde vnderstande killing by this commaundement of God, to be forbidden after no larger wise, then mans constitutions define killynge to be law-

That mans law ought not to be preiudicial to gods law.

full, then whye maye it not lykewise by mans constitutions be determined after what fort whordome, fornication, and perurie may be lawfull? For where as by the permission of God, no man hath power to kill neither himself, nor yet anye other man: then yf a lawe made by the consent of men, concerninge slaughter of men: oughte to be of fuche strengthe, force, and vertue, that they which contrarie to the commaundement of God haue killed those, whom this constitution of man commaunded to be killed, be cleane quite and exempte out of the bondes and daunger to Gods commaundement: shall it not then by this reason follow, that the power of Gods commaundemente shall extende no further, then mans lawe doeth define, and permitte? And so shall it come to passe, that in like maner mans constitutions in al thinges shal determine how farre the obseruation of all Gods commaundementes shall extende. To be shorte Moyse law, though it were vngentle and sharpe, as a law that was geuen to bondmen, yea; and them very obstinate, stubborne, and styfnecked: yet it punished theste

Theste in the olde lawe not punished by death.

by the purse, and not wyth death. And let vs not thinke that God in the newe law of clemencie and mercye, vnder the whiche he ruleth vs with fatherlie gentlenes, as his deare children hathe geuen vs greater scoupe and licence to the execution of cruelte, one vpon another. Nowe ye haue heard the reasons whereby, I am perswaded that this punishment is vnlawful. Furthermore I thinke

What inconuenience ensueth of punishynge theft with death.

ther is no body that knoweth not, how vnreasonable, yea: how pernicious a thinge it is to the weale publike, that a theste and an homicide or murderer, shoulde suffer equall and like punishment. For the these seyng that

man, that is condempned for theste in no lesse ieoperdie, nor iudged to no lesse punishment, then him that is conuicte of manslaughter: throughe this cogitation onelye he is strongly and forciblye prouoked, and in a maner constreined to kill him, whome els he woulde haue but robbed.

Punishing of theft by deathe causeth the theste to be a murtherer.

For the murder beyng ones done, he is in lesse feare, and in more hoope that the deede shall not be bewrayed or knowen, seyng the partye is nowe deade, and rydde oute of the waye, which onelye mighte haue vttered and disclofed it. But if he chaunce to be taken and discriued: yet he is in no more daunger and ieoperdie, then if he had committed but single felonye. Therefore whiles we go about with suche crueltie to make theues aferd, we prouoke them to kil good men. Now as touchinge this question, what punifhement were more commodious and better: that truelye in my iudgemente is easier to be founde, then what punishment might be wurfe. For why should we doubt that to be a good and a profytable waye for the punifhement of offendours, whiche we knowe did in tymes paste so longe please the Romaines,

What lawfull punishment may be deuised for theft.

men in the administration of a weale publique mooste experte, politique, and cunnynge? Suche as amonge them were conuicte of great and heynous trespases, them they condempned into stone quarries, and into mienes to digge mettalle, there to be kepte in cheynes all the dayes of their life.

Howe the Romayns punished theste.

But as concernyng this matter, I allow the ordinaunce of no nation so wel as yat which I sawe, whiles I trauailed abroad aboute the worlde, vsed in Persia amonge the people that commenly be called the Polylerites. Whose land is both large and ample, and also well and wittelye gouerned: and the people in all conditions free and ruled by their owne lawes, saunge that they paye a yearelye tribute to the great king of Persia. But bicause they be farre from the sea, compassed and inclofed, almoste rounde aboute with hyghe moun-

A worthy and commendable punishment of theues in the weale publique of the Polylerites in Persia.

taines, and do content them selues with the fruites of their owne lande, whiche is of it selfe verye fertile and frutfull: for this cause neither they go to other countreys, nor other come to them. And accordynge to the olde custome of the land, they desire not to enlarge the boundes of their dominions: and those that they haue by reason of the highe hilles be easely defended: and the tribute whiche they paye to their chiefe lord and kinge, setteth them quite and free from warfare. Thus their life is commodious rather then gallante, and may better be called happie: or welthy, then notable or famous. For they be not knowen asmuch, as by name, I suppose sauing only to theyr next neighbours and borderes. They that in this lande be atteinted and conuict of felony, make restitution of that which they stole, to the righte owner: and not (as they do in other landes) to the kinge: whome they thinke to haue no more righte to the thieftolen thinge, then the thiefe him selfe hathe. But if the thing be losse or made away, then the value of it is paide of the gooddes of such offenders, which els remaineth all whole to their wiues, and children. And they them selues be condempned to be common laborers, and, oneles the thefte be verie heinous, they be neyther locked in prison, nor fettered in giues, but be vntied and go at large, laboring in the common workes. They that refuse labour, or go slowly and slacklye to their worke, be not onelye tied in cheynes, but also pricked forward with stripes. But beinge diligente aboute theyr worke they liue without checke or rebuke. Euery night they be called in by name: and be locked in theyr chambers. Beside their dayly labour, their life is nothing hard or incommodious. Their fare is indifferent good, borne at the charges of the weale publike, bicause they be commen feruauntes to the commen wealth. But their charges in all places of the lande is not borne alike. For in some partes that which is bestowed vpon them is gathered in almes. And thoughe that waye be vncertain, yet

A priuie nippe
for them that
do otherwise.

Theues con-
dempned to be
commen labour-
ers.

the people be so full of mercy and pitie, that none is found more profitable or plentiful. In some places certain landes be appointed hereunto: of the reuenewes whereof they be mainteined. And in some places euerye man geueth a certain tribute for ye same vse and purpose. Againe in some partes of the land these seruing men (for so be these Seruing men. dampned persons called) do no common worke, but as euerye priuate man nedeth laborours, so he commeth into the markette place, and there hierethe some of them for meate and drinke, and a certeine limited waiges by the daye, sumwhat cheper then he shoulde hire a free man. It is also lawefull for them to chaftice the slouth of these seruinge men with stripes. By this meanes they neuer lacke worke, and besides the gayninge of their meate and drinke, euerye one of them bringeth dailie some thing into the common treasourie. All and euery one of them be apparailled in one coloure. Their heades be not polled or shauen, but rounded a lytle aboute the eares. And the tpye of the one eare is cut of. Euery one of them maye take meate and drinke of their frendes, and also a coate of their owne colloure: but to receiue money is deathe, aswell to the geuer, as to the receiuoure. And no lesse ieperdie it is for a free man to receiue moneye of a seruyng manne for anye maner of cause: and lykewise for seruinge men to touche weapons. The seruinge men of euerye feuerall shire be distincte and knowne frome other by their feuerall and distincte badges: whiche to caste awaye is death: as it is also to be sene oute of the precincte of their owne shire, or to talke with a seruinge man of another shyre. And it is lesse daunger to them, for to intende to runne awaye, then to do it in dede. An euell intent estemed as the dede. Yea and to conceal suche an enterpries in a seruinge man it is deathe, in a free man seruitude. Of the contrarie parte, to him that openeth and vttereth suche counselles, be decreed large giftes: to a free man a great some of money, to a seruing man freedome:

and to them bothe forgeuenes and pardone of that they were of counsell in that pretence. So that it can neuer be so good for them to go forewarde in their euyl purpose, as by repentaunce to tourne backe. This is the lawe and order in this behalfe, as I haue shewed you. Wherein what humanitie is vsed, howe farre it is frome

The right end
and intent of
punishment.

crueltie, and howe commodious it is, you do playnely perceauē: For asmuche as the ende of their wrath and punyshemente intendeth nothyng else, but the destruction of vices, and sauynge of menne: wyth so vsynge, and ordering them, that they can not chuse but be good, and what harme so euer they did before, in the residue of theyr life to make a mendes for the same. Moreouer it is so litle feared, that they shoulde tourne againe to their vicious conditions, that wayefaringe men wyl for their sauegarde chuse them to theyr guydes before any other, in euery sheir chaunging and taking new. For if they would committe robbery, they haue nothinge aboute them meate for that purpose. They may touch no weapons: money founde aboute them shoulde betraie the robbery. They shoulde be no sooner taken with the maner, but furthwith they shoulde be punished. Neither they can haue any hope at all to skape away by flienge. For howe should a man, that in no parte of his apparell is like other men, flye preuelie and vnknown, onles he woulde runne away naked? Howebeit so also flyng he shoulde be discruied by the roundyng of his heade, and his eare marke. But it is a thinge to be doubted, that they will laye theyr heddes together, and conspire againste the weale publique. No no I warrante you. For the seruyng men of one sheire alone coulde neuer hoope to bringe to passe suche an enterprise, without sollicitinge, entynginge, and alluryng the seruinge men of manye other shieres to take their partes. Whiche thinge is to them so impossible, that they maye not asmuch as speake or talke together, or salute one another. No it is not to be thoughte that they woulde

make their owne countrey men and companions of their counsell in suche a matter, whiche they knowe well should be ieopardie to the concelour thereof, and great commoditie and goodnes to the opener and detectour of the same. Whereas on the other parte, there is none of them all hopeles or in dispaire to recouer againe his former estate of fredome, by humble obedience, by paciente suffringe, and by geuing good tokens and likelyhoode of himselfe, that he wyll euer after that, lyue like a trewe, and an honest man. For euerye yeare diuers of them be restored to their freedom: throughe the commendation of their patience. Whan I had thus spoken, sayinge moreouer that I coulde see no cause why this ordre might not be had in Englande with muche more profyte, then the Iustice whiche the lawyer so heighly prayfed: Naye, quod the lawier, this coulde neuer be so stablyshed in Englande, but that it must nedes bringe the weale publike into great ieoperdie and hafarde. And as he was thus sayinge, he shaked his heade, and made a wrie mouthe, and so he helde his peace. And all that were there present, with one assent agreed to his sayinge. Well, quod the Cardinall, yet it were harde to iudge withoute a proffe, whether this order would do wel here or no. But when the sentence of death is geuen, if than the kinge shoulde commaunde execution to be defferred and spared, and would proue this order and fassion: takinge awaye the priuiliges of all faintuaries: if then the profe shoulde declare the thinge to be good and profitable, than it were wel done that it were stablyshed: Els the condempned and reprimed persons may aswel and as iustly be put to death after this profe, as when they were first cast. Neither any ieoperdie can in the meane space growe herof. Yea, and me thynketh that these Vagaboundes. vagaboundes may very wel be ordered after the same fassion, against whom we haue hitherto made so many lawes, and so litle preuailed. When the Cardinall had thus saide, than euery man gaue greate praise

to my sayinges, whiche a litle before they had dis-
 allowed. But moost of al was esteemed that
 which was spoken of vagaboundes, bicause
 it was the cardinalles owne addition. I can
 not tell whether it were best to reherse the communica-
 tion that folowed, for it was not very sad. But yet you
 shall heare it, for there was no euil in it, and partlye
 it pertained to the matter before saide. There chaunced
 to stand by a certein iesting parasite, or scoffer, which
 wold seme to resemble and counterfeit ye foole. But
 he did in fuche wise counterfeit, that he was almost ye
 veye same in dede that he labored to represent: he
 so studied with wordes and sayinges brought furth so
 out of time and place to make sporte and moue laugh-
 ter, that he himfelse was oftener laughed at then his
 iestes were. Yet the foolishe fellowe brought out
 now and then such indifferent and reasonable stufte,
 that he made the prouerbe true, which saieth: he that
 shoteth oft, at the last shal hit the mark. So that when
 one of the company sayd, that throughe my communi-
 cation a good order was founde for theues, and that
 the Cardinal also had wel prouided for vagaboundes,
 so that only remained some good prouision
 to be made for them that through sicknes
 and age were fallen into pouertie, and were
 become so impotent and vnweldie, that they were not
 hable to worke for their liuinge: Tushe (quod he) let me
 alone with them: you shall se me do well ynough with
 them. For I had rather then any good, that this kinde
 of people were driuen sumwher oute of my sight, they
 haue so fore troubled me manye times and ofte, when
 they haue wyth their lamentable teares begged money
 of me: and yet they coulde neuer to my mynde so tune
 their songe, that thereby they euer got of me one far-
 thinge. For euer more the one of these two chaunced:
 either that I would not, or els that I could not, bicause
 I had it not. Therefore now they be waxed wise. For
 when they see me go by, bicause they will not leese
 theyr labour, they let me passe and saye not one worde

The wauering
 iudgements
 of flatterers.

Sicke, aged,
 impotent per-
 sons and beg-
 gers.

to me. So they loke for nothings of me, no in good sothe no more, then yf I were a priest, or a monke. But I will make a lawe, that all these beggers shall be distributed, and bestowed into houses of religion. The men shalbe made laye brethren, as they call them, and the women nunnes. Hereat the Cardinal smiled, and allowed it in iest, yea and all the residue in good earnest. But a certeine freare graduate in diuinitie, toke suche pleasure and delite in this ieste of priestes and monkes, that he also beyng elles a man of grillie and sterne grauitie, began merilie and wantonlye to ieste and taunt. Naye, quod he, you shall not so be ridde and dispatched of beggers, oneles you make some prouision also for vs frears. Why, quod the iester, that is done alreadie, for my lord him selfe set a verye good order for you, when he decreed that vagaboundes should be kept straite, and set to worke: for you be the greatest and veriest vagaboundes that be. This iest also, when they sawe the Cardinall not disproue it, every man toke it gladly, sauyng onelye the Frear. For he (and that no marueile) beyng thus touched on the quicke, and hit on the gaule, so fret, so fumed, and chafed at it, and was in such a rage, that he could not refraine himselfe from chidinge, skolding, railing, and reuiling. He called the fellow ribbalde, villaine, iauel, backbiter, sclaunderer, and the childe of perdition: cinging therwith terrible threatenings out of holie Scripture. Then the iestyng scoffer beganne to playe the scoffer in dede, and verely he was good at yt, for he could play a part in that play no man better. Patient youre selfe good maister Freare, quod he, and be not angrie, for scripture saieth: in youre patience you shall saue your soules. Then the Freare (for I will rehearse his own very woordes) No gallous wretche, I am not angrie (quod he) or at the leaste wise, I do not sinne: for the Psalmiste saith, be you angrie, and sinne not. Then the Cardinal spake gently to the freare, and desired him to quiete him-

A commen pro-
uerbe amonge
beggars.

A mery talke
betwene a
Freare and a
foole.

Talke qualifi-
ed according to
the person that
speaketh.

felfe. No my lord, quod he, I fpeak not but of a good zeale as I oughte: for holye men had a good zeale. Wherefore it is fayd: the zeale of thy houle hath eaten me. And it is fonge in the church The fkorner of Helizeus, whiles he went vp into the houle of God, felte the zeale of the bald, as peradventure this fkorning vilaine ribaulde shall feele. You do it (quod the Cardinall) perchaunce of a good mynde and affection: but me thinketh you fould do, I can not tell whether more holilie, certes more wifely, yf you woulde not fet youre witte to a fooles witte, and with a foole take in hande a foolifhe contention. No forsoeth my lorde (quod he) I fould not do more wyfelye. For Salomon the wyfe faieth: Anfwere a foole accordinge to his folye, like as I do nowe, and do fhew him the pit that he fhall fall into, yf he take not hede. For if many fkorner of Helizeus, whiche was but one bald man, felte the zeale of the balde, how muche more fhall one fkorner of many frears feele, amonge whom be manye balde men? And we haue alfo the popes bulles, whereby all that mocke and fkorne vs be excommunicate, fufpended, and acurfed. The cardinal, feing that none ende would be made, ient awaie the iefter by a preuy becke, and turned the communication to an other matter. Shortly after, when he was rifen from the table, he went to heare his fueters, and fo dimiffed vs. Looke maifter More wyth how longe and tedious a tale I haue kept you, which furely I woulde haue bene afhamed to haue done, but that you fo earnestly defired me, and did after fuch a forte geue eare vnto it, as though you would not that any parcel of that communication fhould be left out. Whiche thoughe I haue done fumwhat briefely, yet could I not chufe but rehearfe it, for the iudgemente of them, whyche when they had improued and difallowed my fayinges, yet incontinent hearynge the Cardinall allowe them, dyd themfelues alfo approue the fame: fo impudently flattering him, that they wer nothing afhamed to admitte, yea almoſte in good earnest, his iefters folifh inuentions: bicaufe that he him felfe by

smiling at them did seme not to disproue them. So that hereby you may right wel perceauē how litle the courtiers woulde regarde and esteeme me and my sayings.

I ensure you maister Raphael, quod I, I toke greate delectacion in hearing you : all thinges that you saide were spoken so wittilye and so pleasauntly. And me thought me selfe to be in the meane time, not onelye at home in my countrei, but also through the pleasaunt remembraunce of the Cardinal, in whose house I was broughte vp of a childe, to waxe a child againe. And frend Raphael, though I did beare verye greate loue towards you before, yet seyng you do so earnestlye faouere this man, you wyll not beleue howe muche my loue towards you is nowe increased. But yet, all this notwithstandinge, I can by no meanes chaunge my mind, but that I must nedes beleue, that you, if you be disposed, and can fynde in youre hearte to follow some Princes courte, shall with your good counselles greatlye helpe and further the commen wealth. Wherefore there is nothyng more apperteining to youre dewty, that is to saye, to the dewtie of a good man. For where as your Plato iudgeth that weale publiques shall by this meanes atteyne perfecte felicitie, eyther if philosophers be kynges, or elles yf kynges geue themselves to the studie of Philosophie, how farre I praye you, shall commen wealthes then be frome thys felicitie, yf Philosophers wyll vouchesafte to enstruct kynges with their good counsell?

They be not so vnkinde (quod he) but they woulde gladlye do it, yea, manye haue done it alreadye in bookes that they haue put furthe, if kynges and princes would be willyng and readye to folowe good counsell. But Plato doubtlesse dyd well foresee, onelesse kynges themselves woulde applye their mindes to the studye of Philosophie, that elles they woulde neuer thoroughlye allowe the counsell of Philosophers, beyng themselves before euen from their tender age infected, and corrupt with peruerse, and euill opinions. Whiche thyng Plato hymselfe proued trewe in kinge Dionyse. If I shoulde propose to any kyng

wholfome decrees, doynge my endeuoure to plucke out of hys mynde the pernicious originall caufes of vice and noughtines, thinke you not that I shoulde furthewith either be driuen away, or elles made a laughyng stocke? Well suppose I were with the Frenche kynge, and there fytinge in his counsell, whiles in that mooste secrete consultation, the kynge him selfe there beyng presente in hys owne personne they beate their braynes, and ferche the verye bottomes of their wittes to discusse by

The Frenche-
men priu lie he
counseled from
the desire of
Italie.

what crafte and meanes the kynge maye styl kepe Myllayne, and drawe to him againe fugitiue Naples, And then howe to conquere the Venetians, and how to bringe vnder his iurisdiction all Italie, then howe to win the dominion of Flaunders, Brabant, and of all Burgundie: with diuers other landes, whose kingdomes he hath longe ago in mind and purpose inuaded. Here whiles one counfelleth to conclude a legue of peace with the Venetians, so longe to endure, as shall be thought mete and expedient for their purpose, and to make them also of their counsell, yea, and besides that to geue them part of the pray, whiche afterwarde, when they haue brought theyr purpose about after their owne myndes, they maye require and clayme againe. An other thinketh best to hieere the Germaynes. An other woulde

Launce knightes.

haue the fauoure of the Swychers wonne with money. An others aduise is to appease the puiffaunte power of the Emperoures maiestie wyth golde, as with a mooste pleasaunte, and acceptable sacrifice. Whiles an other gyueth counsell to make peace wyth the kynge of Arragone, and to restooore vnto him hys owne kyngedome of Nauarra, as a full assurance of peace. An other commeth in with his five egges, and aduifeth to hooke in the kynge of Castell with some hope of affinitie or allyaunce, and to bringe to their parte certeine Pieers of his courte for greate pensions. Whiles they all staye at the chiefeste doubt of all, what to do in the meane time with Englande, and yet agree all in this to make peace with the

Englishmen, and with mooste fuer and stronge bandes to bynde that weake and feable frendeshippe, so that they muste be called frendes, and hadde in suspicion as enemyes. And that therefore the Skottes muste be hadde in a readines, as it were in a standynge, readie at all occasions, in aunders the Englishmen shoulde sturre neuer so lytle, incontinent to set vpon them. And moreouer preuillie and secretlye (for openlie it maye not be done by the truce that is taken) priuelie therefore I saye to make muche of some Piere of Englande, that is bannished hys countrey, whiche muste cleime title to the crowne of the realme, and affirme hym selfe iuste inherytoure thereof, that by this subtill meanes they maye holde to them the kinge, in whome elles they haue but small truste and affiaunce. Here I saye, where so great and heyghe matters be in consultation, where so manye noble and wyse menne counsell theyr kynge onelie to warre, here yf I felie man shoulde rise vp and will them to tourne ouer the leafe, and learne a newe leesson, sayinge that my counsell is not to medle with Italy, but to tarye styll at home, and that the kyngedome of Fraunce alone is almooste greater, then that it maye well be gouerned of one man: so that the kyng should not nede to studye howe to gette more: And then should propose vnto them the decrees of the people that be called the Achoriens, whiche be situate ouer agaynste the Ilande of Utopia A notable example, and worthy to be followed. on the southeaste side. These Achoriens ones made warre in their kinges quarrell for to gette him another kingdome, whiche he laide claime vnto, and auauenced hymselfe ryghte inheritoure to the crowne thereof, by the tittle of an olde aliaunce. At the last when they had gotten it, an[d] sawe that they hadde euen as muche vexation and trouble in keypyng it, as they had in gettinge it, and that either their newe conquered subiectes by fundrye occasions were makynge daylye infurrections to rebell agaynste them, or els that other countreis were continuallie with diuers inrodes and forragynge inuadyng them: so that they were

euer fighting either for them, or agaynste them, and neuer coulde breake vp theyr camps: Seynge them felues in the meane feason pyllled and impouerished: their money caried out of the realme: their own men killed to maintaine the glorye of an other nation: when they had no warre, peace nothyng better then warre, by reason that their people in war had so inured themselues to corrupte and wicked maners: that they had taken a delite and pleasure in robbinge and stealing: that through manslaughter they had gathered boldnes to mischiefe: that their lawes were had in contempte, and nothing fet by or regarded: that their king beyng troubled with the charge and gouernaunce of two kingdomes, could not nor was not hable perfectlie to discharge his office towardses them both: feing againe that all these euellles and troubles were endles: at the laste layde their heades together, and like faithfull and louinge subiectes gaue to their kynge free choise and libertie to kepe styll the one of these two kingdomes whether he would: alleginge that he was not hable to kepe both, and that they were mo then might well be gouerned of halfe a king: forasmuche as no man woulde be content to take him for his mulettour, that kepeth an other mans moyles besydes his. So this good prince was constreyned to be content with his olde kyngedome, and to geue ouer the newe to one of his frendes. Who shortelye after was violentlie driuen out. Furthermore if I shoulde declare vnto them, that all this busie preparaunce to warre, wherby so many nations for his sake should be broughte into a troublesome hurlei-burley when all his coffers were emptied, his treasures wasted, and his people destroyed, should at the length through some mischance be in vaine and to none effect: and that therefore it were best for him to content him selfe with his owne kingedome of fraunce, as his forfathers and predeceffours did before him: to make much of it, to enrich it, and to make it as flourishing as he could, to endeuoure him selfe to loue his subiectes, and againe to be beloued of them, willingly

to liue with them, peaceably to gouerne them, and with other kyngdomes not to medle, feinge that whiche he hath all reddy is euen ynoughe for him, yea and more then he can wel turne hym to: this myne aduyse maister More, how thinke you it would be harde and taken?

So God helpe me not very thankfully, quod I.

Wel let vs procede then, quod he. Suppose that some kyng and his counsel were together whettinge their wittes and deuisinge, what subtell crafte they myght inuente to enryche the kinge with great treasures of money. First one counselleth to rayse and enhaunce the

Enhauncyng
and imbasyng
of coynes.

valuation of money when the kinge must paye anye: and agayne to calle downe the value of coyne to lesse them it is worthe, when he muste receiue or gather any. For thus great sommes shalbe payde wyth a lytyl money, and where lytle is due muche shalbe receaued.

An other counselleth to

Counterfayte
warres.

fayne warre, that when vnder this coloure and pretence the kyng hath gathered greate aboundaunce of money, he maye, when it shall please him, make peace with greate solempnitie and holye ceremonies, to blinde the eyes of the poore communitie, as taking pitie and compassion forsothe vpon mans bloude, lyke a louing and a mercifull prince.

An other putteth the kyng in remembrance of certeine olde and moughteaten

The renewing
of olde lawes.

lawes, that of longe tyme haue not bene put in execution, whych because no man can remembre that they were made, euerie man hath transgressed. The fynes of these lawes he counselleth the kyng to require: for there is no waye so proffitable, nor more honorable, as the whyche hathe a shewe and coloure of iustice. An

other aduyfeth him to forbidde manye

Restrayntes.

things vnder greate penalties and fines, specially suche things as is for the peoples profit not be vsed, and afterwarde to dispence for money with them, whyche by this prohibition substeyne losse and dammage. For by this meanes the fauour of the people is wonne, and profite riseth two wayes. First by tak-

inge forfaytes of them whome couetoufnes of gaynes
 Sellyng of li- hath brought in daunger of this statute, and
 cences. also by felling priuileges and licences,
 whyche the better that the prince is forsothe, the deerer
 he selleth them: as one that is lothe to graunte to any
 priuate persone anye thinge that is againste the proffite
 of his people. And therefore maye fel none but at an
 exceding dere pryce. An other giueth the kynge coun-
 fel to endaunger vnto his grace the iudges of the
 Realme, that he maye haue them euer on his side, and
 that they maye in euerye matter despute and reason for
 the kynges right. Yea and further to call them into his
 palace and to require them there to argue and discusse
 his matters in his owne presence. So there shalbe no
 matter of his so openlye wronge and vniuste, wherein
 one or other of them, either because he wyl haue fun-
 thinge to allege and obiecte or that he is ashamed to
 faye that whiche is sayde alreadye, or els to pike a
 thanke with his prince, wil not fynde some hole open to
 fet a snare in, wherewith to take the contrarie parte in
 a trippe. Thus whiles the iudges cannot agree amonges
 them selves, reasoninge and arguing of that which is
 playne enough, and bringinge the manifest trewthe in
 dowte: in the meane season the Kinge maye take
 a fyt occasion to vnderstand the lawe as shal moste
 make for his aduauntage, wherevnto all other for shame,
 or for feare wil agree. Then the Iudges may be
 bolde to pronounce on the kynges side. For he that
 geueth sentence for the king, cannot be without a good
 excuse. For it shalbe sufficient for him to haue equitie
 on his part, or the bare wordes of the lawe, or a wry-
 then and wrested vnderstandinge of the same (or els,
 whiche with good and iust Iudges is of greater force then
 all lawes be) the Kynges indisputable prerogative. To
 The saiying of conclude, al the counsellours agre and con-
 riche Crassus. sent together with the ryche Crassus, that
 no abundance of gold can be sufficient for a prince,
 which muste kepe and maynteyne an armie: further-
 more that a kynge, thoughe he would, can do nothinge

vniustlye. For all that all men haue, yea also the men them selves be all his. And that euery man hath so much of his owne, as ye kynges gentilnes hath not taken from hym. And that it shalbe moſte for the kynges aduantage, that his ſubiectes haue very lytle or nothinge in their poſſeſſion, as whoſe ſauegarde doth herein conſiſte, that his people doe not waxe wanton and wealthie through riches and libertie, becauſe where theſe thinges be, there men be not wonte patiently to obeye harde, vniuſte, and vnlawefull commaundementes. Where as on the other part neade and pouertie doth holde downe and kepe under ſtowte courages, and maketh them patient perforce, takynge from them bolde and rebell ynge ſtomakes. Here agayne if I ſhoulde ryſe vp, and boldelye affirme that all theſe counſelles be to the kinge diſhonoure and reproche, whoſe honoure and ſafetye is more and rather ſupported and vpholden by the wealth and ryches of his people, then by hys owne treaſures: and if I ſhould declare that the comminaltie chueſeth their king for their owne ſake, and not for his ſake: to the intent, that through his labour and ſtudie they might al liue wealthily ſauſſe from wronges and iniuries: and that therfore the kyng ought to take more care for the wealth of his people, then for his owne wealth, euen as the office and dewtie of a ſhepehearde is in that he is a ſhepherde, to feede his ſhepe rather then himſelfe. For as towching this, that they thinke the defence and mayntenaunce of peace to conſiſte in the pouertie of the people, the thing it ſelfe ſheweth that they be farre out of the waye. For where ſhal a man finde more wrangling, quarrelling, brawling, and chiding, then among beggers? Who be more deſierous of newe mutations and alterations, then they that be not content with the preſent ſtate of their lyfe? Or finallye who be bolder ſtomaked to bringe all in a hurlieburlye (therby truſtinge to get ſome windſal) then they that haue nowe nothinge to leeſe? And yf any Kyng were ſo ſmally regarded, and ſo lightly eſtemed, yea ſo behated of his ſubiectes, that

Pouertye the
mother of de-
bate and deca-
of realmes.

other wayes he could not kepe them in awe, but onely by open wronges, by pollinge and shauinge, and by bringinge them to beggerie, fewerly it were better for him to forsake his kingedome, then to holde it by this meanes: whereby though the name of a king be kepte,

yet the maiestie is lost. For it is againste the dignitie of a kynge to haue rule ouer beggers, but rather ouer
A worthy saying of Fabrice. ryche and welthie men, Of this mynde was the hardie and couragius Fabrice, when he sayde, that he had rather be a ruler of riche men, then be ryche himselfe. And verelye one man to liue in pleafure and wealth, whyles all other wepe and smarte for it, that is the parte, not of a kynge, but of a iayler. To be shorte as he is a folshe phisition, that cannot cure his patientes disease, onles he caste him in an other syckenes, so he that cannot amend the liues of his subiectes, but be taking from them the wealth and commoditie of lyfe, he muste nedes graunte that, he knoweth not the feate how to gouerne men. But let him rather amende his owne lyfe, renounce vnhonest pleafures, and forsake pride. For these be the chiefe vices that cause hym to runne in the contempte or hatred of his people. Let him lyue of hys owne, hurtinge no man. Let him doe cost not aboute his power. Let hym restreyne wyckednes. Let him preuente vices, and take awaye the occasions of offenses by well orderynge hys subiectes, and not by sufferynge wickednes to increafe afterward to be punyshed. Let hym not be to hastie in callynge agayne lawes, whyche a custome hath abrogated: speciallye suche as haue bene longe forgotten, and neuer lacked nor needed. And let hym neuer vnder the cloke and pretence of transgression take suche fynes and forfaytes, as no Iudge wyll suffre a priuate persone to take, as vniuste and ful of gile.

A fleasinge and notable lawe of the Macariens.

Here if I should brynge forth before them the lawe of the Macariens, whiche be not farre distaunt from Utopia: whose Kynge the daye of hys coronation is bounde by a solempne othe, that he shall neuer at anye time haue

in hys treasure aboue a thousande pounde of golde or syluer. They saye a verye good kynge, whiche toke more care for the wealthe and commoditie of his countrey, then for th[e] enriching of him selfe, made this lawe to be a stop and a barre to kinges from heaping and hording vp so muche money as might impoueryshe their people. For he forsaue that this som of treasure woulde suffice to supporte the kynge in battaile against his owne people, if they shoulde chaunce to rebell: and also to maintein his warres againste the inuasions of his forreyn enemies. Againe he perceiued the same stocke of money to be to litle and vnsufficient to encourage and enable him wrongfullye to take away other mens goodes: whyche was the chiefe cause whie the lawe was made. An other cause was this. He thought that by this prouision his people shoulde not lacke money, wherewith to mayneteyne their dayly occupieng and chaffayre. And seyng the kynge could not chewse but laye out and bestowe al that came in aboue the prescript some of his stocke, he thought he woulde feke no occasions to doe his subiectes iniurie. Suche a kynge shalbe feared of euel men, and loued of good men. These, and suche other informations, yf I shoulde vse among men wholye inclined and geuen to the contrarye part, how deaffe hearers thinke you shoulde I haue?

Deaffe hearers douteles (quod I) And in good faith no marueyle. And to be plaine with you, truelye I can not allowe that suche communication shalbe vsed, or suche counsell geuen, as you be suere shall neuer be regarded nor receaued. For howe can so straunge informations be profitable, or how can they be beaten into their headdes, whose myndes be allredye preuented: with cleane contrarye persuasions? This schole philosophie is not vnpleasaunte amonge frendes in familiare communication, but in the counselles of kinges, where greate matters be debated and reasoned with greate authoritye, these thinges haue no place.

Schole philosophye in the consultations of Princes hath no place.

That is it whiche I mente (quod he) when I sayde philosophye hadde no place amonge kinges.

In dede (quod I) this schole philosophie hath not: whiche thinketh all thinges mete for euery place. But there is an other philosophye more ciuile, whyche knoweth, as ye wolde say, her owne stage, and thereafter orderynge and behauinge here-selfe in the playe that she hathe in hande, playethe her parte accordingelye with comlyenes, vttering nothinge oute of dewe ordre and fassyon. And this is the philosophye that you muste vse. Or els whyles a

A fine and a fitte similitude. commodye of Plautus is playinge, and the vyle bondemen skoffynge and tryffeling

amonge them selves, yf you shoulde sodenlye come vpon the stage in a Philosophers apparrell, and reherse oute of Octauia the place wherein Seneca disputeth

A dumme plaier. with Nero: had it not bene better for you to haue played the domme persone, then by

reherfynge that, whych serued neither for the tyme nor place to haue made suche a tragycall comedye or gallymalfreye? For by bryngynge in other stuffe that nothinge apperteyneth to the presente matter, you muste nedes marre and peruert the play that is in hand, though the stuffe that you bringe be muche better. What part soeuer you haue taken vpon you, playe that aswell as you can and make the best of it: And doe not therefore disturbe and brynge oute of ordre the whole matter, bycause that an other, whyche is meryer and better cummeth to your remembraunce. So the case standeth in a common wealthe, and so it is in the consultations of Kynges and prynces. Yf euel opinions and noughty persuasions can not be vtterly and quyte plucked out of their hartes, if you can not euen as you wolde remedy vices, which vse and custome hath confirmed: yet for this cause you must not leaue and forsake the common wealthe: you must not forsake the shippe in a tempeste, because you can not rule and kepe downe the wyndes. No nor you must not labour to dryue into their heades newe and straunge informations, whyche you knowe wel shalbe nothinge regarded wyth them that be of cleane contrary

mindes. But you must with a crafty wile and a subtell trayne studeye and endeuoure youre selfe, asmuche as in you lyethe, to handle the matter wyttelye and handesomelye for the purpose, and that whyche you can not turne to good, so to order it that it be not uerye badde. For it is not possible for al thinges to be well, onles all men were good. Whych I thinke wil not be yet thies good many yeares.

By this meanes (quod he) nothings elles wyl be brought to passe, but whyles that I goe aboute to remedye the madnes of others, I shoulde be euen as madde as they. For if I wolde speake suche thinges that be tréwe I must neades speake suche thinges: but as for to speake false thinges, whether that be a philosophers parte or no I can not tel, truelye it is not my part. Howebeit this communication of mine, thoughe peraduenture it maye seme vnpleasaunte to them, yet can I not see why it shoulde seme straunge, or folishelye newfangled. If so be that I should speake those thinges that Plato faynethe in his weale publique: or that the Utopians doe in theirs, these thingesthoughe they were (as they be in dede) better, yet they myghte seme spoken oute of place. Forasmuche as here amonges vs, euerye man hathe his possessions feuerall to him selfe, and there all thinges be common. But what was in my communication conteyned, that mighte not, and oughte not in anye place to be spoken? Sauynge that to them whyche haue throughlye decreed and determind with them selves to runne hedlonges the contrary waye it can not be acceptable and pleasaunt, because it call-eth them backe, and sheweth them the ieopardies, Verilye yf all thynges that euel and vitiousse maners haue caused to seme inconueniente and noughte should be refused, as thinges vnmete and reprochfull, then we must among Christen people wynke at the moste parte of al those thinges, whych Christ taught vs, and so streitly forbad them to be winked at, yat those thinges also whiche he whispered in ye eares of his disciples he

The Utopia
weale publi-
que.

commaunded to be proclaimed in open houfes. And yet ye moſt parte of them is more diſſident from the maners of the worlde nowe a dayes, then my communication was. But preachers ſlie and wylie men followynge youre counſel (as I ſuppoſe) bicauſe they ſaw men euell willing to frame theyr manners to Chriſtes rule, they haue wreſted and wriede his doctryne, and like a rule of leade haue applyed it to mennes manners: that by ſome meanes at the leaſte waye, they myghte agree together. Whereby I can not ſee what good they haue done: but that men may more ſickerlye be euell. And I truelye ſhoulde preuaile euen as litle in kinges counſelles. For either I muſte ſaye otherwayes then they ſaye, and then I were as good to ſaye nothinge, or els I muſte ſaye the ſame that they ſaye, and (as Mitio ſaieth in Terence) helpe to further their madnes. For that craftye wyle, and ſubtil traine of yours, I can not perceaue to what purpoſe it ſerueth, wherewith you wolde haue me to ſtudy and endeouere my ſelfe, yf all thinges can not be made good, yet to handle them wittily and handſomely for the purpoſe, yat as farre forth as is poſſible they, may not be very euell. For there is no place to diſſemble in, nor to wincke in. Noughtye counſelles muſte be openlye allowed and verye peſtilent decrees muſte be approued. He ſhalbe counted worſe then a ſpye, yea almoſte as euell as a traytour, that with a faynte harte doth prayſe euell and noyefome decrees. Moreouer a man canne haue no occaſion to doe good, chaunſinge into the companye of them, whych wyl ſoner peruerte a good man, then be made good them ſelfes: through whoſe euell companye he ſhalbe marred, or els if he remayne good and innocent, yet the wickednes and follye of others ſhalbe imputed to hym, and layde in his necke. So that it is impoſſible with that craftye wyle, and ſubtel trayne to turne anye thinge to better. Wherefore Plato by a goodlye ſimilitude declareth, why wiſe men refraine to medle in the common wealthe. For when they ſee the people ſwarme into the ſtretes, and daily wet to the ſkinne with rayne, and yet can

not perswade them to goe out of the rayne, and to take their houses, knowynge wel, that if they shoulde goe out to them, they should nothinge preuayle, nor wyne ought by it, but with them be wette also in the raine, they do kepe them selves within their houses, being content that they be faffe them selues, feinge they cannot remedye the follye of the people. Howe be it doubtlesse maister More (to speke truelye as my mynde geueth me) where possessions be priuate, where money beareth all the stroke, it is harde and almoste impossible that there the weale publique maye iustelye be gouerned, and prosperouslye floryshe. Onles you thinke thus: that Iustyce is there executed, where all thinges come into the handes of euell men, or that prosperytye there floryssheth, where all is diuided amonge a fewe: whyche fewe neuerthelesse doe not leade their liues very wealthely, and the resydewe lyue myserablye, wretchedlye, and beggerlye. Wherefore when I consider with my selfe and weye in my mynde the wyse, and godlye ordinaunces of the Utopians, amonge whome with verye fewe lawes all thinges be so wel and wealthelye ordered, that vertue is had in pryce and estimation, and yet all thinges beinge there common, euerye man hath aboundaunce of euerye thinge. Againe on the other part, when I compare with them so manye nations euer makinge newe lawes, yet none of them all well and sufficientlye, furnysshed with lawes: where euerye man calleth that he hath gotten, his owne proper and priuate goodes, where so many newe lawes daylye made be not sufficiente for euerye man to enioye, defend, and knowe from an other mans that whych he calleth his owne: which thinge the infinite controuerfies in the lawe, dayle rysynge, neuer to be ended, playnly declare to be trewe. These thinges (I say) when I consider with me selfe, I holde wel with Plato, and doe nothinge marueille, that he woulde make no lawes for them, that refused those lawes, whereby all men shoulde haue and enioye equall portions of welthes and commodities.

Plato wyll
al things in a
common wealth
to be common.

For the wise man did easely foresee, this to bee the one and onely waye to the wealthe of a communaltye, yf equaltye of all thinges should be broughte in and stablyshed. Whyche I thinke is not possible to be obserued, where euerye mans gooddes be proper and peculiare to him selfe. For where euerye man vnder certeyne tytles and pretences draweth and plucketh to himselfe asmuch as he can, so that a fewe deuide among them selves all the whole riches, be there neuer so muche abundaunce and store, there to the residewe is leste lacke and pouertye. And for the moste parte it chaunceth, that this latter sorte is more worthy to enioye that state of wealth, then the other be: bycause the ryche men be couetous, craftye, and vnprofitable. On the other parte the poore be lowly, simple, and by their daylye laboure more profitable to the common welthe then to them selves. Thus I doe fullye perswade me selfe, that no equall and iuste distribution of thinges can be made, nor that perfecte wealthe shall euer be among men, onles this propriety be exiled and bannished. But so long as it shal continew, so long shal remaine among the most and best part of men the heuy, and ineuitable burden of pouerty and wretchednes. Whiche, as I graunte that it maye be sumwhat eased, so I vtterly denye that it can wholly be taker away. For if there were a statute made, that no man should possesse aboue a certeyne measure of grounde, and that no man shoulde haue in his stocke aboue a prescripte and appointed some of money: if it were by certeyn lawes decreed, that neither the Kinge shoulde be of to greate power, neither the people to haute and wealthy, and that offices shoulde not be obtained by inordinate suite, or by brybes and gyftes: that they shoulde neither be bought nor sold, nor that it shoulde be nedeful for the officers, to be at any cost or charge in their offices: for so occasion is geuen to theym by fraude and rauin to gather vp their money againe, and by reason of gyftes and bribes the offices be geuen to rich men, which shoulde rather haue bene

executed of wise men : by such lawes I say, like as sicke bodies that be desperat and past cure, be wont with continual good cherishing to be kept and botched vp for a time : so these euels also might be lightened and mitigated. But yat thei may be perfectly cured, and brought to a good and vpryght state, it is not to be hoped for, whiles euery man is maister of his owne to him selfe. Yea and whyles you goe aboute to doe youre cure of one parte, you shall make bygger the fore of an other parte, so the healpe of one causeth anothers harme: forasmuche as nothinge can be geuen to annye one, onles it be taken from an other.

But I am of a contrary opinion (quod I) for me thinketh that men shal neuer there liue wealthele, where all thinges be commen. For howe can there be abundance of gooddes, or of any thing, where euery man withdraweth his hande from labour? Whome the regard of his owne gaines driueth not to worke, but the hope that he hath in other mens trauayles maketh him slowthfull. Then when they be pricked with pouertye, and yet no man can by any lawe or right defend that for his owne, which he hath gotten with the laboure of his owne handes, shal not there of necessitie be continual sedition and blodeshed? Speciallye the authoritye and reuerence of magistrates beinge taken awaye, whiche, what place it maye haue with such men amonge whome is no difference, I cannot deuise.

I maruel not (quod he) that you be of this opinion. For you conceaue in youre minde either none at al, or els a verye false Image and similitude of this thing. But yf you had bene with me in Utopia, and had presentelye sene their fasshions and lawes, as I dyd, whyche liued there. v. yeares, and moore, and wolde neuer haue commen thence, but onlye to make that newe lande knowen here : Then doubtles you wolde graunt, that you neuer sawe people wel ordered, but onlye there.

Surely (quod maister Peter) it shalbe harde for you to make me beleue, that there is better order in that

newe lande, then is here in these countryes, that wee knowe. For good wittes be aswel here as there: and I thinke oure commen wealthes be auncienter than theirs: wherin long vse and experience hath found out many thinges commodious for mannes lyfe, besides that manye thinges heare amonge vs haue bene founde by chaunce, which no wytte colde euer haue deuysed.

As touchinge the auncientnes (quod he) of common wealthes, than you might better iudge, if you had red the histories and cronicles of that land, which if we may beleue, cities were there, before men were here. Nowe what thinge soeuer hetherto by witte hath bene deuysed, or found by chaunce, that myght be aswel there as here. But I thinke verily, though it were so that we did passe them in witte: yet in study, in trauaile, and in labourfome endeuoure they farre passe vs. For (as their Chronicles testifie) before our arriual there, they neuer hard any thing of vs, whome they cal the vltraequinoctialles: sauing that ones about. M.CC. [twelve hundred] yeares ago, a certeine shyppe was lost by the Ile of Utopia whiche was driuen thether by tempest. Certeine Romaines and Egyptians were cast on lande. Whyche after that neuer wente thence. Marke nowewhat profite they tooke of this one occasion through delygence and earneste trauaile. There was no crafte nor scyence within the impire of Rome wherof any profite could rise, but they either lerned it of these straungers, or els of them taking occasion to searche for it, founde it oute. So greate proffite was it to them that euer anye wente thyther from hence. But yf annye like chaunce before this hath brought anye man from thence hether, that is as quyte out of remembraunce, as this also perchaunce in time to come shalbe forgotten, that euer I was there. And like as they quickelye, almoste at the first meting, made their owne, what soeuer is amonge vs wealthelye deuysed: so I suppose it wolde be long before we wolde receaue anythinge, that amonge them is better instituted then amonge vs.

And this I suppose is the chiefe cause whie their common wealthes be wyfelyer gouerned, and doe flowrish in more wealth, then ours, though we neither in wytte nor riches be their inferiours.

Therefore gentle Maister Raphael (quod I) I praye you and beseeche you describe vnto vs the Ilande. And study not to be shorte: but declare largely in order their groundes, their riuers, their cities, their people, their manners, their ordinaunces, their lawes, and to be short al thinges, that you shal thinke vs desierous to knowe. And you shal thinke vs desierous to know what foeuer we knowe not yet.

There is nothing (quod he) that I wil doe gladlier. For all these thinges I haue freshe in mind. But ye matter requireth leasure.

Let vs go in therfore (quod I) to dinner, afterward we wil bestowe the time at our pleasure.

Content (quod he) be it.

So we went in and dyed. When dinner was done, we came into the same place again, and fate vs downe vpon the same benche, commaunding oure seruantes that no man should trouble vs. Then I and Maister Peter Giles desired maister Raphael to performe his promise. He therefore seing vs desirous and willing to hearken to him, when he had sit stil and paused a litle while, musing and bethinkinge himselfe, thus he began to speake.

The end of the Firste boke.

The seconde

booke of the communication
of Raphael Hythlodaye, concer-
nyng the best state of a common wealthe
conteyninge the Discription of Utopia,
with a large Declaration of the poli-
tike gouernemente, and of all the
good lawes and orders of
the same Ilande.

The sice and
fashion of the
newe ylande
Utopia.



He Iland of Utopia, con-
teynethe in breadthe in
the middel parte of it
(for there it is brodest)
CC. [two hundred]
miles. Which bredthe
continueth throughe
the moſte parte of the
lande Sauing that by litle and litle it commeth in, and
waxeth narrower towardes both the endes. Which fetch-
ing about a circuite or compaſſe of V.C. [five hundred]
Miles, do faſſion ye whole Iland like to ye new mone.
Betwene theſe two corners the ſea runneth in, diuidyng
them a ſonder by the diſtaunce. of. xi miles or there
aboutes, and there furmountethe into a large and wyde
ſea, which by reaſon that the land on euery ſide com-
paſſethe it about, and ſhiltreth it from the windes, is not
roughe, nor mounteth not with great waues, but almoſt
floweth quietlye, not muche vnlike a greate ſtandinge
powle: and maketh welnieghe all the ſpace within the
bellye of the lande in maner of a hauen: and to the
greate commoditie of the inhabitauntes receaueth in

shyppes towardes euerye parte of the lande. The forefrontes or frontiers of the. ii. corners, what with fordes and shelues, and what with rockes be verye ieoperdous and daungerous. In the middle distaunce betwene them bothe standeth vp aboute the water a greate rocke, which therefore is nothing perilous bycause it is in sight. Vpon the top of this rocke is a faire and a strong tower builded, which they holde with a garrison of men. Other rockes there be lyinge hidde vnder the water, which therefore be daungerous. The channelles be knowen onely to themselves. And therefore it seldome chaunceth that anye straunger oneles he be guided by an Utopian can come in to this hauen. In so muche that they themselves could skafelye entre withoute ieoperdie, but that their way is directed and ruled by certaine lande markes standinge on the shore. By turninge, translatinge, and remouinge thies markes into other places they maye destroye their enemies nauies, be they neuer so many. The out side or vtter circuite of ye land is also ful of hauens, but the landing is so fuerly fenced, what by nature, and what by workemanshyp of mans hand, that a fewe defenders maye dryue backe many armies. Howbeit as they saye, and as the fassion of the placè it selfe dothe partely shewe, it was not euer compassed about with the sea. Bu' kyng Utopus, whose name, as conquerour the Iland beareth (For before his tyme it was called Abraxa) which also broughte the rude and wild people to that excellent perfection in al good fassions, humanitie, and ciuile gentilnes, wherin they nowe goe beyond al ye people of the world: euen at his firste arriuinge and enteringe vpon the lande, furthwith obteynge the victory, caused. xv. [fifteen] myles space of vplandysh grounde, where the sea had no passage, to be cut and dygged vp.

A place naturally fenced ne-dethe but one garrison.

A politique deuise in the chaunging of land markes.

The Ilande of Utopia so named of king Utopus.

And so brought the sea rounde aboute the lande. He set to this worke not only the inhabitauntes of the

Ilande (because they should not thinke it done in contumelye and despyte) but also all his owne foldiours. Thus the worke beyng diuided into so greate a numbere of workemen, was with excedinge maruelous spede dyfpatched. In so muche that the borderers, whiche at the firste began to mocke, and to ieste at this vaine enterpryse, then turned their derision to marueyle at the successe, and to feare.

Many handes make light worke. There be in the Ilande. liiii. [fifty four] large and faire cities, or shiere townes, agreyng all together in one tonge, in lyke maners, institucions, and lawes. They be all set and situate a lyke, and in al poyntes fashioned alyke, as farforthe as the place or plotte sufferethe.

Cities in Utopia. Of these cities they that be nigheste together be, xxiiii. [twenty four] myles asonder. Againe there is none of them distaunte from the nexte aboute one dayes iorneyeye a fote. There com yearly to Amaurote out of euery cytie. iii old men wyse and well experienced, there to entreate and debate, of the common matters of the land. For this citie (because it standeth iuste in the middes of the Ilande, and is therefore moste mete for the ambassadours of all partes of the realme) is taken for the chiefe and heade citie. The precinctes and boundes of the shieres be so commodiously appoynted oute, and set

Similitude causeth concord. fourthe for the cities, that none of them all hathe of anye syde lesse then xx. [twenty] myles of grounde, and of some syde also muche more, as of that part where the cities be of farther distaunce asonder.

A meane distaunce betwene citie and citie. None of the cities desire to enlarge the boundes and limites of their shieres. For they counte them selves rather the good husbandes, then the owners of their landes. They haue in the countrey in all partes of the shiere houses or fermes builded, wel appointed and furnyshed with all sortes of instrumentes and tooles belongynge to husbandrye.

The distribution of landes. These houses be inhabited of the citezens, whyche come

But this nowadaies is the grounde of all mischeife.

Husbandrie and tillage cheifly and principally regarded and aduanced.

thether to dwelle by course. No howsholde or ferme in the countrey hath fewer then. xl. [forty] pertones men and women, beydes two bondmen, whyche be all vnder the rule and order of the good man, and the good wyfe of the house, beinge bothe verye sage, discrete, and aunciente perfonnes. And euery. xxx. [thirty] fermes or families haue one heade ruler, whyche is called a Philarche, being as it were a head baylyffe. Out of euery one of these families or fermes commeth euerye yeare into the citie. xx. [twenty] perfonnes whiche haue continewed. ij. yeres before in the countrey. In their place so manye freshe be sent thether oute of the citie, whoe, of them that haue bene there a yeare all readye, and be therefore expert and conninge in husbandry, shalbe instructed and taughte. And they the nexte yeare shall teache other. This order is vsed for feare that either skarfenes of victualles, or some other like incommoditie should chaunce, throughe lacke of knowledge: yf they should be altogether newe, and freshe, and vnexperte in husbandrie. This maner and fassion of yearelye chaunginge and renewinge the occupiers of husbandrye, though it be solempne and customablye vsed, to th[e] intent that no man shall be constrayned againste his wil to contynewe longe in that harde and sharpe kynde of lyfe, yet manye of them haue suche a pleasure and delyte in husbandrye, that they obteyne a longer space of yeares. These husbandmen plowe and til the ground, and breede vp cattel, and prouide and make ready woode, whyche they carrye to the citie either by lande, or by water, as they maye moste conuenyently. They brynge vp a greate multitude of pulleyne, and that by a meruaylouse policie. For the hennes dooe not sytte vpon the egges: but by keepynge them in a certayne equall heate they brynge lyfe into them, and hatche them. The chykens, affone as they be come oute of the shel, follow men and women in steade of the hennes. They brynge vp verye fewe horses: nor none, but verye fearce ones: and that for none other vse or purpose, but onlye to

The dueties of men of husbandrye.

A strange fassion in hatchinge and bringing vp of pulleyne.

The vse of horses.

exercyse their youthe in rydyng and feates of armes.

The vse of Oxen. For oxen be put to all the labour of plow- yng and drawinge. Whiche they graunte to be not so good as horses at a sodeyne brunte, and (as we saye) at a deade lifte, but yet they holde opinion, that oxen wil abide and suffre muche more labour, payne and hardnes, then horses wil. And they thinke that oxen be not in daunger and subiect vnto so many diseases, and that they be kepte and mainteined with muche lesse coste and charge: and finallye that they be good for meate, when they be past labour. They sowe

Bread and drink. corne onelye for breade. For their drinke is eyther wyne made of grapes, or els of apples, or peares, or els it is cleare water. And many times meathe made of honey or licouresse fodde[n] in water, for thereof they haue great store. And though they knowe certeynlye (for they knowe it perfectly in dede) how muche vitales the citie wyth the whole countrey or shiere rounde aboute it doeth

A great discretion in sowing of corne. spende: Yet they sowe muche more corne, and bryed vp muche more cattell, then serueth for their owne vse, partyng the ouer plus among their borderers. What soeuer necessarie thinges be lacking in the countrey, all suche stufte they fetch out of the citie: where without any exchange they easelye obteyne it of the magistrates of the citie. For euery moneth manie of them go into the citie on the holye daye. When their haruest day draweth neare, and is at hande, then the Philarches, which

be the head officers and bailifes of husbandrie, send

Mutual helpe quickly dispatcheth. worde to the magistrates of the citie what nombre of haruest men is nedefull to be sent to them oute of the citie. The

whiche companye of haruest men

beyng readye at the daye

appoynted, almost in one

sayre daye dispatcheth

all the haruest

woorke.

Of the cities and namely of Amaurote.



AS for their cities, who so knoweth one of them, knoweth them all : they be al so like one to an other, as farfurthe as the nature of the place permitteth. I will describe therefore to you one or other of them, for it skilleth not greatly which : but which rather then Amaurote? Of them all this is the worthiest and of most dignitie. For the residue knowledge it for the head cite, because there is the counsell house. Nor to me anye of them all is better beloued, as wherein I liued siue whole yeares together. The cite of Amaurote standeth vpon the side of a lowe hill in fashyon almost foure square. For the breadth of it beginneth a litle beneth the toppe of the hill, and still continueth by ye space of two miles, vntill it come to the ryuer of Anyder. The length of it, which lieth by the ryuers syde, is sumwhat more. The riuier of Anyder rifeth four and twentie myles aboue Amaurote out of a little springe. But beyng increased by other smale riuers and broukes that runne into it, and amonge other two sumwhat bygge ons, before the cite it is half a mile broade, and farther broader. And fortie myles beyond the cite it falleth into the Ocean sea. By all that space that liethe betwene the sea and the cite, and certen myles also aboue the cite the water ebbeth and floweth siue houres together with a swift tide. When the sea floweth in, for the length of thirtie miles it filleth all the Anyder with salte water, and driueth backe the freshe water of the ryuer. And sumwhat further it chaungeth the swetenes of the freshe water with saltnes. But a litle beyonde that the riuier waxeth swete, and

The descrip-
tion of Ama-
rote the chiefe
Cite in Uto-
pia.

The descrip-
tion of the riuier
of Anyder.

The verie like
in England in
the riuier of
Thamys.

runneth foreby the citie freshe and pleasaunt. And when the sea ebbeth, and goeth backe againe, the freshe water foloweth it almooste euen to the verie fal into the

Herein also
doeth London
agre with A-
maurote.

sea. Ther goeth a bridge ouer the riuier made not of piles or of timber, but of stonewarke with gorgious and substancial arches at that part of the citie that is farthest from the sea: to the intent that shippes maye passe alonge forbie all the side of the citie without let. They haue also an other riuier which in dede is not verie great. But it runneth gentely and pleasauntly. For it riseth euen oute of the same hill that the citie standeth vpon, and runneth downe a slope through the middes of the citie into Anyder. And because it riseth a litle withoute the citie, the Amaurotians haue inclosed the head springe of it, with stronge fences and bulwarkes, and so haue ioyned it to the citie. This is done to the intente that the water shoulde not be

The vse of
freshe water.

stopped nor turned away, or poysoned, if their enemies should chaunce to come vpon them. From thence the water is deriued and conueied downe in cannels of bricke diuers wayes into the lower partes of the citie. Where that cannot be done, by reason that the place wyll not suffer it, there they gather ye raine water in great cisternes, whiche doeth

The defence of
towne walles.

them as good seruice. The citie is compassed aboute with a heighe and thicke stone walle full of turrets and bulwarkes. A drie diche, but deape, and brode, and ouergrown with bushes, briers, and thornes, goeth aboute thre sides or quarters of the city. To the fourth side the riuier it selfe serueth for a ditche. The stretes be

Stretes.

appointed and set furth very commodious and handsome, both for carriage, and also againste the

Buildinges and
houses.

windes. The houses be of faire and gorgious building, and on the strete side they stande ioyned together in a long rowe through the whole streate without any partition or separation. The stretes be twentie foote brode. On the backe side of

the houfes through the whole length of the
 ftreete, lye large gardens inclofed rounde
 aboute wyth the backe part of the ftreetes.
 Euerye houfe hathe two doores, one into
 the ftreete, and a pofterne doore on the backfyde into
 the garden. Thefe doores be made with two leaues,
 neuer locked nor bolted, fo eafie to be opened, that
 they wil followe the leaft drawing of a fynger, and
 fhutte againe alone. Whofo will, may go in, for there
 is nothinge within the houfes that is pri-
 uate, or anie mans owne. And euery tenth
 yeare they change their houfes by lot.
 They fet great ftore by their gardeins. In
 them they haue vineyardes, all maner of fruite, herbes,
 and flowres, fo pleafaunt, fo well furnifhed, and fo
 fynely kepte, that I neuer fawe thyng more frute-
 full, nor better trimmed in anye place.
 Their ftudie and deligence herein commeth
 not onely of pleafure, but alfo of a certen
 ftrife and contention that is betwene ftrete
 and ftrete, concerning the trimming, husbanding, and fur-
 nifhing of their gardens : euerye man for his owne parte.
 And verelye you fhall not lightelye finde in all the citie
 any thinge, that is more commodious, eyther for the pro-
 fite of the Citizens, or for pleafure. And therefore it maye
 feme that the firft founder of the citie mynded nothing
 fo much, as thefe gardens. For they faye that kinge
 Utopus him felfe, euen at the firft beginning appointed,
 and drewe furth the platte fourme of the citie into this
 fafhion and figure that it hath nowe, but the gallant gar-
 nifhing, and the beautifull fettinge furth of it, wherunto
 he fawe that one mannes age would not fuffice : that he
 left to his posteritie. For their cronicles, whiche they
 kepe written with all deligente circumfpection, containe
 ynge the hiftorie of. M. vii. C. lx. [one thoufand feven
 hundred and fixty] yeares, euen from the firfte con-
 queft of the Ilande, recorde and witneffe that the
 houfes in the beginning were very low, and like homely
 cotages or poore sheppard houfes, made at all aduen-

To euery dwell-
 ing houfe a
 garden platte
 adioynge.

This geere
 smelleth of Pla-
 to his com-
 munitie.

The commo-
 ditie of gardens
 is commended
 alfo of Vergile.

tures of euery rude pece of tymber, that came firste to hande, with mudde walles, and ridged rooffes, thatched ouer with strawe. But nowe the houses be curiouslye buylded after a gorgious and gallante sorte, with three storyes one ouer another. The outsidcs of the walles be made either of harde flynte, or of plaster, or els of bricke, and the inner sydes be well strengthened with tymber work. The roofes be plaine and flat, couered with a certen kinde of plaster that is of no coste, and yet so tempered that no fyre can hurt or perishe it, and withstandeth the violence of the wether better then any leade. They kepe the winde oute of their windowes with glasse, for it is ther much vsed, and somhere also with fine linnen cloth dipped in oyle or ambre, and that for two commodities.

Glazed or can-
uased win-
dowes.

For by thys meanes more
lighte commeth in, and
the winde is better
kepte oute.

¶ Of the magistrates.



A tranibore in
the Utopiane
tonge signifieth
a head or chief
peere.

A maruelous
strzunge fassi-
on in chusinge
magistrates.

Verye thirtie families or fermes, chuese them yerely an officer, which in their olde language is called the Syphograunte, and by a newer name the Philarche. Euery ten Syphograuntes, with al their thirtie families be vnder an officer which was ones called the Tranibore, nowe the chiefe Philarche. Moreouer as concerninge the election of the Prince, all the Syphograuntes, which be in number. 200. first be sworne to chuese, him whom they thinke mooste mete and expediente. Then by a secrete election, they name prince one of those. iiij. whome the people before named vnto them. For oute of the. iiij. quarters of the cite there be. iiij chosen, oute of

euery quarter one, to stande for the election : Whiche be put vp to the counsell. The princes office continueth all his life tyme, oneles he be depofed or put downe for fufpition of tirannie. They chuefe the Tranibores yearly, but lightlie they change them not. All the other officers be but for one year. The Tranibores euerye thyrde daye, and fومتimes, yf nede be, oftener come into the counsell houfe with the prince. Their counsell is concerninge the common wealthe. If there be any controuerfies amonge the commoners, whiche be verye fewe, they difpatch and ende them by and by. They take euer. ij. Siphograuntes to them in counfel, and eueri dai a new coupel. And it is prouided, that nothinge touchinge the common wealthe fhall be confirmed and ratified, onleffe it haue bene reasoned of and debated thre daies in the counsell, before it be decreed. It is deathe to haue anye confultation for the common wealthe oute of the counsell, or the place of the common election. This ftatute, they faye, was made to the entente, that the prince and Tranibores might not eafilye confpire together to opprefse the people by tyrannie, and to change the ftate of the weale publik. Therefore matters of great weight and importance be broughte to the election houfe of the Siphograuntes, which open the matter to their families. And afterwarde, when they haue confulted amonge themfelues, they fhew their deuife to the counsell. Somtime the matter is broughte before the counfel of the whole Ilande. Furthermore this cuftome alfo the counfel vfeth, to difpute or reason of no matter the fame claye that it is firfte propofed or put furthe, but to defferre it to the nexte fyttinge of the counsell. Becaufe that no man when he hath rashely there fpoken that commeth to his tonges ende, fhall then afterwarde rather studye for

Tyranny in a wel ordered weale publique vtterlie to be abhorred.

Sutes and controuerfies betwene partie and partie furthwith to be ended which now a daies of a set purpose be vnreasonably delaied.

Against hafte and rash decrises or ftatutes.

A cuftome worthy to be vfed these daies in our counfels and parliaments.

reasons wherewith to defende and mainteine his first
 folish sentence, than for the commoditie of ye common
 wealth: as one rather willing the harme or hindraunce
 of the weale publike then any losse or diminution of
 his owne existimation. And as one that would be
 ashamed (which is a very folishe shame) to be count-
 ed anye thing at the firste ouersene in the mat-
 ter. Who at the first ought to haue
 spoken rather wyfelye,
 then hastely, or
 rashlye.

¶ Of Sciences, Craftes and Occupations.

Husbandrie
 or tillage practi-
 sed of all esta-
 tes, which now
 a dayes is reiect
 vnto a fewe of
 the basest sort.



Husbandrie is a Science common
 to them all ingenerall, bothe
 men and women, wherein
 they be all experte and cun-
 ning. In this they be all
 instructe euen from their youth: partelie in their
 scholes with traditions and preceptes, and partlie in
 the countrey nigh the citie, brought vp as it were in
 playinge, not onely beholding the vse of
 it, but by occasion of exercising their bodies
 practising it also. Besides husbandrie,
 whiche (as I faide) is common to them all,
 euerye one of them learneth one or other
 feueral and particular science, as his owne
 proper crafte. That is most commonly
 either clothworking in wol or flaxe, or masonrie, or
 the smithes craft, or the carpenters science. For there is
 none other occupation that any number to speake of
 doth vse there. For their garmentes, which through-
 oute all the Ilande be of one fashion,
 (fauynge that there is a difference betwene
 the mans garmente and the womans, betwene the
 maried and the vnmaried) and this one continueth for

Sciences or oc-
 cupations
 should be lear-
 ned for neces-
 sities sake, and
 not for the
 mayntenaunce
 of riotous ex-
 cesse and wan-
 ton pleasure.

Similitude in
 apparrell.

euermore vnchaunged, femely and comelie to the eye, no lette to the mouynge and weldynge of the bodye, also fytte both for wynter and summer: as for these garmentes (I faye) euery familie maketh their owne. But of the other foresaide craftes euery man learneth one. And not onely the men, but also the women. But the women, as the weaker sort, be put to the easier craftes: as to worke wolle and flaxe. The more laborfome sciences be committed to the men. For the mooste part euery man is broughte vp in his fathers crafte. For mooste commonlye they be naturallie therto bente and inclined. But yf a mans minde stande to anye other, he is by adoption put into a familye of that occupation, which he doth most fantasy. Whome not onely his father, but also the magistrates do diligently loke to, that he be put to a discrete and an honest householder. Yea, and if anye person, when he hath learned one crafte, be desierous to learne also another, he is likewyse suffred and permitted.

No citizen
without a sci-
ence.

To what ocu-
pation euery-
one is natural-
lie inclined
that let him
learne.

When he hath learned bothe, he occupieth whether he wyll: onelesse the citie haue more neade of the one, then of the other. The chiefe and almooste the onelye offyce of the Syphograuntes is, to see and take hede, that no manne sit idle: but that euerye one applye hys owne craft with earnest diligence. And yet for all that, not to be wearied from earlie in the morninge, to late in the eueninge, with continuall worke, like labouringe and toylinge beastes.

Idel persones
to be driuen out
of the weale pu-
blique.

For this is worse then the miserable and wretched condition of bondemen. Whiche neuertheles is almooste euerye where the lyfe of workemen and artificers, fauing in Utopia. For they diuidynge the daye and the nyghte into xxiiii. iuste houres, appointe and assigne onelye fixe of those houres to woorke before noone, vpon the whiche they go streighte to diner: and after diner, when they haue rested two houres.

A moderation
in the laboure
and toyle of ar-
tificers.

then they worke iii. houres and vpon that they go to supper. Aboute eyghte of the cloke in the eueninge (countinge one of the clocke at the firste houre after noone) they go to bedde: eyght houres they geue to slepe. All the voide time, that is betwene the houres of worke, slepe, and meate, that they be suffered to bestowe, euery man as he liketh best him selfe. Not to th[e] intent that they shold mispend this time in riote or slouthfulnes: but beyng then licensed from the laboure of their owne occupations, to bestow the time well and thrifte-lye vpon some other science, as shall please them. For it is a solempne custome there, to haue lectures daylye early in the morning, where to be presente they onely be constrained that be namelye chofen and appoynted to

The studie of
good literature. learninge. Howbeit a greate multitude of euery fort of people, both men and women go to heare lectures, some one and some an other, as euerye mans nature is inclined. Yet, this notwithstanding, if any man had rather bestowe this time vpon his owne occupation, (as it chaunceth in manye, whose mindes rise not in the contemplation of any science liberall) he is not letted, nor prohibited, but is also prayed and commended, as profitable to the common

Playing after
supper. wealthe. After supper they bestow one houre in playe: in summer in their gardens: in winter in their commen halles: where they dine and suppe. There they exercise themselues in musike, or els in honest and wholsome communication. Dice-
playe, and suche other folishe and pernicious games they

But now a-
daies diceplay
is the pastime
of princes. know not. But they vse ij. games not much vnlike the chesse. The one is the battell of numbers, wherein one numbre stealethe awaye another. The other is wherin vices

fyghte with vertues, as it were in battel array, or a set fyld. In the which game is verye properlye shewed, both the striffe and discorde that

Plaies or ga-
mes also pro-
fitable. vices haue amonge themselves, and agayne their vnitye and concorde againste vertues: And also what vices be repugnaunt to what vertues:

with what powre and strength they assaile them openly: by what wiles and subtely they assaulte them secretlye: with what helpe and aide the vertues resiste, and ouercome the puiffaunce of the vices: by what craft they frustrate their purposes: and finally by what sleight or meanes the one getteth the victory. But here least you be deceaued, one thinge you muste looke more narrowly vpon. For seinge they bestowe but. vi. houres in woorke, perchance you maye thinke that the lacke of some necessarye thinges hereof maye ensewe. But this is nothinge so. For that smal time is not only enough but also to muche for the floore and abundaunce of all thinges, that be requisite, either for the necessitie, or commoditie of life. The which thinge you also shall perceauē, if you weye and consider with your selves how great a parte of the people in other contreis lyueth ydle. First almost all women, whyche be the halfe of the whole numbre: or els if the women be somewhere occupied, there most commonlye in their steade the men be ydle. Besydes this how greate, and how ydle a companye is there of preystes, and religious men, as they cal them? put thereto al ryche men, speciallye all landed men, which comonlye be called gentlemen, and noble men. Take into this numbre also their seruantes: I meane all that flocke of stoute bragging ruffhe bucklers. Ioyne to them also sturdy and valiaunte beggers, clockinge their idle the coloure of some disease or sickenes. And trulye you shal find them much fewer then you thought, by whose labour all these thinges are wrought, that in mens affaires are now daylye vsed and frequented. Nowe confyder with youre selfe, of these fewe that doe woorke, how fewe be occupied, in necessarye woorkes. For where money beareth all the swinge, there many vayne and superfluous occupations must nedes be vsed, to serue only for ryotous superfluite, and vnhonest

The kyndes
and sortes of
ydle people.

Women.

Priestes and
religious men.
Riche men and
landed men.

Seruyngmen.

Sturdy and
valiaunt
beggers.

Wonderfull
wittely spoken.

pleasure. For the same multitude that now is occupied in woork, if they were deuided into so fewe occupations as the necessarye vse of nature requyreth: in so greate plentye of thinges as then of necessity woulde ensue, doubtles the prices wolde be to lytle for the artifcyers to maynteyne their liuings. But yf all these that be nowe busied about vnprofitable occupations, with all the whole flocke of them that lyue ydellye and slouthfullye, whyche consume and waste euerye one of them more of these thinges that come by other mens labour, then. ij. of the workemen themselves doo: yf all these (I saye) were sette to profytable occupatyons: you easelye perceauē howe lytle tyme would be enoughe, yea and to muche to stoore vs with all thinges that maye be requisite either for necessitie, or for commoditye, yea or for pleasure, so that the same pleasure be trewe and natural. And this in Utopia the thinge it selfe makethe manifeste and playne. For there in all the citye, with the whole contreye, or shiere adioyning to it scafelye. 500. persons of al ye whole nombre of men and women, that be neither to olde, nor to weake to worke, be licensed and discharged from labour. Amonge them be the Siphograuntes (whoe though they be by the lawes exempte and priuiledged from labour) yet they exempte not themselves: to the intent that they maye rather by their example prouoke other to worke. The same vacation from labour do they also enioye, to whome the people perswaded by the commendation of the priestes, and secrete election of the Siphograuntes, haue geuen a perpetual licence from labour to learninge. But if any one of them proue not accordinge to the expectation and hoope of him conceaued, he is forthwith plucked backe to the company of artificers. And contrarye wise, often it chaunceth that a handicraftes man doth so earnestly bestowe his vacante and spare houres in learninge, and throughe diligence so profyseth therein, that he is taken from his handy occupation, and promoted to the company of the learned. Oute of this

Not asmuche
as the magi-
strates liue
idelly.

ordre of the learned be chosen ambassadours, priestes, Tranibores, and finallye the prince him selfe. Whome they in their olde tonge call Barzanes, and by a newer name, Adamus. The residewe of the people being neither ydle, nor yet occupied about vnprofitable exercises, it may be easely iudged in how fewe houres how muche good worke by them may be doone and dispatched, towardes those thinges yat I haue spoken of. This commodity they haue also aboue other, yat in the most part of necessarye occupations they neade not so much work, as other nations doe. For first of all ye buildinge or repayinge of houses asketh euerye where so manye mens continual labour, bicause yat the vnthrifty heire suffereth ye houses that his father buylded in contyneuance of tyme to fall in decay. So that which he myghte haue vpholden wyth lytle coste, hys successeure is constreyned to buylde it agayne a newe, to his great charge. Yea manye tymes also the howse that stode one man in muche moneye, another is of so nyce and soo delycate a mynde, that he setteth nothinge by it. And it beyng neglected, and therefore shortelye fallynge into ruyne, he buyldeth vpe another in an other place with no lesse coste and chardge. But amonge the Utopians, where all thinges be sett in a good ordre, and the common wealthe in a good staye, it very seldom chaunceth, that they cheuse a newe plotte to buyld an house vpon. And they doo not only finde spedy and quicke remedies for present faultes: but also preuente them that be like to fall. And by this meanes their houses continewe and laste very longe with litle labour and smal reparations: in so much that this kind of workmen somtimes haue almost nothinge to doo. But that they be commaunded to hewe timbre at home, and to square and trimme vp stones, to the intente that if anye worke chaunce, it may the spedelier rise. Now Syr in their apparell, marke (I praye you) howe few workmen they neade. Fyrste of al, whyles they be at

Onely learned men called to offices.

How to auoyd excessiue cost in building.

How to lessen the charge in apparell.

woorke, they be couered homely with leather or skines, that will last. vii. yeares. When they go furthe abrode they caste vpon them a cloke, whych hydeth the other homelye apparel. These clookes through out the whole Iland be all of one coloure, and that is the natural coloure of the wul. They therefore do not only spend much lesse wullen clothe then is spent in other contreis, but also the same standeth them in muche lesse coste. But lymen clothe is made with lesse labour, and is therefore hadde more in vse. But in lymen cloth onely whytenesse, in wullen only clenlynes is regarded. As for the smalnesse or finenesse of ye threde, that is no thinge passed for. And this is the cause wherfore in other places. iiii. or v clothe gownes of dyuers coloures, and as manye filke cootes be not enoughe for one man. Yea and yf he be of the delicate and nyse forte. x. [ten] be to fewe: whereas there one garmente wyl serue a man mooste commenlye. ij. yeares. For whie shoulde he desyre moore? seinge yf he had them, he shoulde not be the better hapt or couered from colde, neither in his apparel anye whytte the comlyer. Wherefore, seinge they be all exercysed in profitable occupations, and that fewe artificers in the same craftes be sufficiente, this is the cause that plentye of all thinges beinge among them, they doo sometymes bringe forthe an innumerable companye of people to amend the hyghe wayes, yf anye be broken. Many times also, when they haue no suche woorke to be occupied aboute, an open proclamation is made, that they shall bestowe fewer houres in worke. For the magistrates doe not exercise their citizens againste their willes in vneadefull laboures. For whie in the institution of that weale publique, this ende is onely and chiefly pretended and mynded, that what time maye possibly be spared from the necessarye ocupacions and affayres of the commen wealth, all yat the citizeins shoulde withdrawe from the bodely seruice to the free libertye of the minde, and garnishinge of the same. For herein they suppose the felicitye of this liffe to consiste.

¶ Of their liuinge and mutual conuersation together.

BVt nowe wil I declare how the citizens vse them selves one towards another: what familiar occupieng and enterteynement, there is amonge the people, and what fassion they vse in the distribution of euery thing. Firste the city consisteth of families, the families most commonlye be made of kinredes. For the women, when they be maryed at a lawefull age, they goo into their husbandes houses. But the male children, with al the whole male offpringe continewe still in their owne family and be gouerned of the eldest and auncientest father, onles he dote for age: for then the next to him in age, is placed in his rowme. But to The numbre of citizens. th[e] intentye prescript number of the citezens shoulde neither decrease, nor aboue measure increase, it is ordeined that no familie which in euery citie be. vi. thousand in the whole, besydes them of the contrey, shall at ones haue fewer children of the age of. xiiii. yeares or there about then. x. or mo then. xvi. for of children vnder this age no numbre can be prescribed or appointed. This measure or numbre is easely obserued and kept, by putting them that in fuller families be aboue the number into families of smaller increase. But if chaunce be that in ye whole citie the stoore increase aboue the iust number, therewith they fil vp ye lacke of other cities. But if so be yat the multitude throughout the whole Ilande passe and excede the dewe number, then they chuese out of euery citie certein citezens, and build vp a towne vnder their owne lawes in the next land where the inhabitauntes haue muche waste and vnoccupied ground, receauing also of the same countrey people to them, if they wil ioyne and dwel with them. They thus ioyning

and dwelling together do easelye agre in one fassion of liuing, and that to the great wealth of both the peoples. For they so bringe the matter about by their lawes, that the ground which before was neither good nor profitable for the one nor for the other, is nowe sufficiente and fruteful enoughe for them both. But if the inhabit-auntes of that lande wyl not dwell with them to be ordered by their lawes, then they dryue them out of those boundes which they haue limited, and apointed out for them selues. And if they resiste and rebel, then they make warre agaynst them. For they counte this the moste iuste cause of warre, when anye people hold-ethe a piece of grounde voyde and vacaunt to no good nor profitable vse, keypyng other from the vse and possession of it, whiche notwithstanding by the lawe of nature ought thereof to be nouryshe and relieued. If anye chaunce do so muche diminishe the number of any of their cities, that it cannot be fylled vp agayne, without the diminishynge of the iust numbere of the other cyties (whiche they say chaunced but twyfe synce the beginnyng of the lande throughe a greate pestilente plague) then they fulfyll and make vp the numbere with cytezens fetched out of their owne forreyne townes, for they had rather suffer their forreyne townes to decaye and peryshe, then any cytie of their owne Ilande to be diminished. But nowe agayne to the conuersation of

So might we
well be dischar-
ged and eased
of the ydle com-
pany of ser-
uyngmen.

the cytezens amonge themselves. The eldeste (as I sayde) rulethe the familye. The wyfes bee ministers to their husbandes, the children to their parentes, and to bee shorte the yonger to their elders. Euery Cytie is deuided into foure equall partes or quarters. In the myddes of euery quarter there is a market place of all maner of thinges. Thether the workes of euery familie be brought into certeyne houfes. And euerye kynde of thing is layde vp feuerall in bernes or store houfes. From hence the father of euerye familye, or euery housholder fetchethe whatsoeuer he and his haue neade of, and carieth it away with him without money,

without exchange, without any gage, pawne, or pledge. For whye shoulde any thing be denyed vnto him? seyng there is abundaunce of all thinges, and that it is not to bee feared, lest anye man wyll aske more then he needeth. For whie should it be thoughte that that man woulde aske more then anough, which is fewer neuer to lacke? Certeynely in all kyndes of lyuing creatures either feare of lacke dothe

The cause of
coueteus and
extortion.

cause couetousnes and rauyne, or in man only pryde, which counteth it a glorious thinge to passe and excel other in the superfluous and vayne ostentation of thinges. The whyche kynde of vice amonge the Utopians can haue no place. Nexte to the market places that I spake of, stande meate markettes: whether be brought not only all sortes of herbes, and the fruites of trees, with breade, but also fishe, and all maner of. iiii. footed beastes, and wilde foule that be mans meate. But first the fylthyne and ordure therof is clene washed awaye in the renninge ryuer without the cytie in places appoynted mete for the same purpose. From thence the beastes be brought in kylled, and cleane wasshed by the handes of their bondemen For they permitte not their frie citezens to accustom them selves to the killing of beastes, through the vse whereof they thinke, clemencye the gentleste affection of oure nature by lytle and lytle to decaye and peryshe. Neither they suffer anye thinge that is fylthye, lothesom, or vnclenlye, to be broughte into the cytie, least the ayre by the stenche therof infected and corrupte, shoulde cause pestilente diseases. Moreouer euerye strete hath certeyne great large halles sett in equal distaunce one from another, euerye one known by a feuerall name. In these halles dwell the Syphograuntes. And to euerye one of the same halles be appoynted. xxx. [thirty] families, on either side. xv [fifteen]

Of the slaughter of beastes we haue learned manslaughter.

The stewardes of euerye halle at a certayne houre come in to the meate markettes, where they receyue meate accordinge to the number of their halles.

Fylth and ordure bring the infection of pestilence into Cyties.

Care, diligence
and attendance
about the sicke.

But first and chieflie of all respect is had to the sycke, that be cured in the hospitalles. For in the circuite of the citie, a litle without ye walles, they haue. iiii. hospitalles, so bigge so wyde, so ample, and so large, that they may seme. iiii. litle townes, which were deuised of yat bignes partely to th[e] intent the sycke, be they neuer so many in numbere, shuld not lye to thronge or straye, and therefore vneasely, and incommodiously: and partely that they which were taken and holden with contagious diseases, suche as be wonte by infection to crepe from one to an other, myght be layde apart farre from the company of ye residue These hospitalles be so wel appointed, and with al thinges necessary to health so furnished, and more ouer so diligent attendaunce through the continual presence of cunning phisitians is geuen, that though no man be sent thether against his will, yet notwithstandinge there is no sicke persone in al the citie, that had not rather lye there, then at home in his owne house. When the stewart of the sicke hath receiued suche meates as the phisitians haue prescribed, then the beste is equallye deuided among the halles, according to the company of euery one, sauing that there is had a respect to the prince, the byshop, the tranibours, and to ambassadours and all straungers, if there be any, which be veyre fewe and seldome. But they also when they be there, haue certeyne feuerrall houses apointed and prepared for them. To these halles at ye set houres of dinner and supper commeth all the whole Siphograuntie or warde, warned by ye noyse of a brasen trumpet: except suche as be sicke in ye hospitalles, or els in their owne houses. Howbeit no man is prohibited or forbid, after the halles be serued, to fetch home meate out of ye market to his own house, For they knowe that no man wyl doe it without a cause reasonable. For thoughe no man be prohibited to dyne at home, yet no man doth it willyngly: because it is counted a pointe of smal honestie. And also it were a follye to

Euery man is
at his libertie
so that nothing
is done by
compulsion.

take the payne to dresse a badde diner at home, when they may be welcome to good and fyne fare so neighe hande at the hall. In this hal al vile seruice, all flauery, and drudgerie, with all laboursome toyle, and base busines is done by bondemen. But the women of euery family by course haue the office and charge of cookerie for sethinge and dressinge the meate, and orderinge all thinges therto belongyng. They sit at three tables or moe, accordinge to the numbre of their company. The men sitte vpon the bench next the wall, and the women againste them on the other side of the table, that yf anye sodeyne euyll should chaunce to them, as many tymes happeneth to women with chylde, they maye rise wythoute trouble or disturbaunce of anye bodie, and go thence into the nurserie. The nurceis sitte feuerall alone with theyr younge suckelinges in a certaine parloure appointed and deputed to the same purpose, neuer withoute fire and cleane water, nor yet without cradels, that when they wyll they maye laye downe the younge infantes, and at theyr pleasure take them oute of their swathyng clothes, and holde them to the fire, and refreshe them with playe. Euery mother is nource to her owne childe, onles either death, or sycknes be the let. When that chaunceth, the wiues of the Syphograuntes quyckelye prouyde a nource. And that is not harde to be done. For they that can doo it, profer themselues to no seruice so gladlye as to that. Because that there thys kinde of pitie is mucche prayfed: and the chylde that is nourished, euer after taketh his nource for his owne naturall mother. Also amonge the nourceis, fytted all the children that be vnder the age of v. yeares. All the other chylde of bothe kyndes, aswell boyes as girles, that be vnder the age of maryage, do eyther serue at the tables, or els if they be to yonge therto, yet they stand by with maruailous silence. That whiche is geuen to them from the table they eate, and other feuerall

Women bothe dresse and serue the meate.

Nourceis.

Nothing soner prouoketh men to well doying then praise and commendation

The education of yonge children.

dynner tyme they haue none. The Siphograunte and his wife fitte in the myddes of the high table, forasmuch as that is counted the honorablest place, and because from thence all the whole companie is in their sight. For that table standeth ouer wharte the ouer ende of the hall. To them be ioyned two of the auncientest and eldest. For at euerye table they sit foure at a meesse. But yf there be a church standing in yat Siphograuntie or warde, then the priest and his wife sitteth with the Siphograunt, as chiefe in the company. On both sydes of them sit yonge men, and nexte vnto

The yong mixed with their elders.

them againe olde men. And thus through out all the house equall of age be fette together, and yet be mixt and matched with vnequal ages. This, they say, was ordeyned, to the intent that the sage grautie and reuerence of the elders should kepe the yongers from wanton licence of wordes and behaiouire. Forasmuch as nothyng can be so secretlye spoken or done at the table, but either they that sit on the one side or on the other muste nedes perceaue it. The dishes be not set down in order from

Olde men regarded and reuerenced.

the first place but all the olde men (whose places be marked with some speciall token to be knowen) be first serued of their meate, and then the residue equally. The olde men deuide their, deinties as they think best to the yonger on eche syde of them.

Thus the elders be not defrauded of their dewe honoure, and neuerthelesse equall commoditie commeth to euery one. They begin euerye dinner and

This nowe a daies is obserued in oure vniuersities.

supper of redinge sumthing yat perteneth to good maners and vertue. But it is shorte, because no man shalbe greued therwith. Hereof th[e]

Talke at the table.

elders take occasion of honest communication, but neither sadde nor vnpleasaunt.

Howbeit they do not spende all the whole dinertime themselues with longe and tedious talkes: but they gladly heare also the yonge men: yea, and purpofelye prouoke them to talke, to th[e] intent that they may haue

a profe of euery mans wit, and towardnes, or disposition to vertue, which commonlie in the libertie of feasting doth shew and vtter it self. Their diners be verie short: but their suppers be sumwhat longer, because that after dyner foloweth labour, after supper slepe and natural reſte, whiche they thinke to be of more ſtrength and efficacie to whoſome and healthfull digeſtion. No ſupper is paſſed without muſicke. Nor their bankettes lacke no conceytes nor ionketes. They burne ſwete gummes and ſpices or perfumes, and pleaſaunt ſmelles, and ſprinckle aboute ſwete oyntementes and waters, yea, they leaue nothing vndone that maketh for the cheringe of the companie. For they be muche enclined to this opinion: to thinke no kinde of pleaſure forbydden, whereof commeth no harme. Thus therfore and after this ſort they liue together in the citie, but in the countrey they that dwell alone farre from any neighbour, do dyne and ſuppe at home in their owne houſes. For no familie there lacketh any kinde of victualles, as from whom commeth all that the citezens eate and lyue by.

This is repugnant to the opinion of our phiſitions.

Musick at the table.

Pleaſure without harme not diſcommendable.

**I Of their iourneyng or
trauayling abroad, with diuers
other matters cunninglye rea-
soned, and wyttilye
Discussed.**



BVt if any be desierous to visite either theyr frendes dwelling in an other citie, or to see the place it selfe: they easelie obteyne licence of their Siphograuntes and Trani-bores, onlesse there be some profitable let. No man goeth out alone but a companie is sente furth together with their princes letters, which do testifie that they haue licence to go that iourney, and prescribeth also the day of their retourne. They haue a wageyn geuen them, with a common bondman, which driueth the oxen, and taketh charge of them. But onles they haue women in their companie, they sende home the wageyn againe, as an impediment and a let. And thoughe they carye nothyng furth with them, yet in all their iorney they lack nothing. For wherfoeuer they come, they be at home. If they tary in a place longer then one daye, than there euery one of them falleth to his owne occupation, and be very gentilly entertained of the workemen and companies of the same craftes. If any man of his owne heade and without leaue, walke out of his precinct and boundes, taken without the princes letters, he is broughte againe for a fugitiue or a runaway with great shame and rebuke, and is sharply punished. If he be taken in that fault againe, he is punished with bondage. If anye be desirous to walke abroad into the feldes, or into the countrey yat belongeth to the same citie that he dwelleth in, obtaininge the good wil of his father, and the consente of his wife, he is not prohibited. But into what part of ye contrei foeuer he commeth he hath no

meat geuen him vntil he haue wrought out his fore-
nones taske; or dispatched so muche work, as there is
wont to be wrought before supper. Obseruing this
law and condition, he may go whether he wil within
the boundes of his own citie. For he shalbe no les
profitable to ye citie, then if he were within it. Now
you se how litle libertie they haue to loiter: howe they
can haue no cloke or pretence to ydlenes.

There be neither winetauernes, nor ale
houfes, nor stewes, nor anye occasion of
vice or wickednes, no lurking corners,
no places of wycked counfels or vnlawfull assembles.
But they be in the presente fighte, and vnder the eies
of euery man. So that of necessitie they must either
apply their accustomed labours, or els recreate them-
selues with honest and laudable pastimes.

O holy common
wealth, and of
Christians to
be folowed.

This fashion and trade of life, being vsed amonge
the people, it cannot be chofen, but that they muste of
necessitie haue store and plentie of all thinges. And
seyng they be all therof parteners equallie,
therefore can no man there be poore or
nedie. In the counsell of Amaurot, whe-
ther, as I said, euery citie sendeth three

Equalitie is
the cause that
euery man hath
enough.

men a pece yearly, affone as it is perfectly knowen of
what thinges there is in euery place plentie, and againe
what thinges be skant in any place: incontinent the
lacke of the one is performed and filled vp with the
aboundaunce of the other. And this they do frely
without anye benefite, taking nothing againe of them,
to whom ye thinges is giuen, but those cities that haue
geuen of their store to any other citie that lacketh, re-
quiring nothing againe of ye same citie, do take suche
thinges as they lacke of an other citie, to the which
they gaue nothinge. So the whole ylande
is as it were one familie, or housholde. But
when they haue made sufficient prouision
of store for themselues (which they thinke
not done, vntil they haue prouided for two yeres folow-
inge, because of the vncertentie of the next yeres

A common
wealthe is no-
thing elles but
a great house-
hold.

proffe) then of those things, wherof they haue abundance, they carie furth into other countreis great plentie : as grayne, honnie, wulle, flaxe, woode, madder, purple died felles, waxe, tallowe, lether, and lyuinge beastes. And the feuenth parte of all these thynges they geue franckelye and frelie to the pore of that countrey.

The traffique and marchaundise of the Utopians.

The residewe they sell at a reasonable and meane price. By this trade of traffique or marchaundise, they bring into their own contrey, not only great plenty of golde and siluer, but also all suche thynges as they lacke at home, whiche is almoste nothinge but Iron. And by reason they haue longe vsed this trade, nowe they haue more aboundaunce of these things, then anye man wyll beleue. Nowe therfore they care not whether they sell for readye money, or els vpon truste to be payed at a daye, and to haue the mooste parte in debtes.

In all things and aboute all things to their communitie they haue an eye.

But in so doynge they neuer followe the credence of priuat men: but the assuraunce or warrauntise of the whole citie, by instrumentes and writinges made in that behalfe accordingly. When the daye of paiement is come and expired, the citie gathereth vp the debte of the priuate debtoures, and putteth it into the common boxe, and so longe hath the vse and profite of it, vntill the Utopians their creditours demaunde it. The mooste parte

By what pollicie money may be in lesse estimation.

of it they neuer aske. For that thyng whiche is to them no profite to take it from other, to whom it is profitable: they thinke it no righte nor conscience. But if the case so stand, that they must lende part of that money to an other people, then they require theyr debte: or when they haue warre. For the whiche purpose onelye they kepe at home all the treasure, whiche they haue, to be holpen and focoured by it either in extreame ieopardyes, or in suddeine daungers. But especiallye and chiefelie to hierer therewith, and that for vnreasonable greate wayges, straunge soldiours. For they hadde rather put straungers in

ieopardie, then they owne countreyemen : knowynge that for money ynoughe, their enemyes themfelues many times may be boughte or folde, or elles throughe treason be sette togethers by the eares amonge themfelues. For this cause they kepe an inestimable treasure. But yet not as a treasure : but so they haue it, and vse it, as in good faythe I am ashamed to shewe : feareinge that my woordes shall not be beleued. And this I haue more cause to feare, for that I knowe howe difficultlie and hardelye I myselfe would haue beleued an other man tellinge the same, if I hadde not presentlye sene it with mine owne eyes.

It is better either with money or by pollicie to avoyde warre, then with muche losse of mans bloud to fight.

O fine wytte.

For it muste neades be, that howe farre a thyng is dissonaunt and disagreing from the guise and trade of the hearers, so farre shall it be out of their belefe. Howebeit, a wise and indifferent estimator of thynges, will not greatlye marueill perchaunce, seyng all theyr other lawes and customes do so muche differre from oures, yf the vse also of gold and syluer amonge them be applied, rather to their owne fashyons, than to oures. I meane in that they occupie not money themfelues, but kepe it for that chaunce, whiche as it maye happen, so it maye be, that it shall neuer come to passe. In the meane time golde and syluer, whereof money is made, they do so vse, as none of them doethe more esteeme it, then the verye nature of the thing deserueth. And then who doeth not playnelye see howe farre it is vnder Iron : as without the whiche men can no better lyue then without fiere and water. Whereas to golde and syluer nature hath geuen no vse, that we may not well lacke : if that the follye of men hadde not sette it in higher estimation for the rarenesse sake. But of the contrarie parte, nature as a mooste tender and louynge mother, hathe placed the beste and mooste necessarie thinges open abroade : as the ayere, the water, and the yearth it selfe. And hathe remoued and hyd far-

Golde worse then yron as touchynge the necessarie vse therof.

theft from vs vayne and vnprofitable thinges. Therefore if these metalles amonge them shoulde be faste locked vp in some tower, it might be suspected, that the prince and the counsell (as the people is euer foolishhelie ymagine) intended by some subtiltie to deceaue the commons, and to take some profite of it to themselues. Furthermore if they shold make therof plate and such other finelie and cunninglie wroughte stufte: if at anye time they should haue occasion to breake it: and melte it againe, therewith to paye their fouldiers wages, they see and perceaue verye well, that men woulde be lothe to parte from those thinges, that they ones begonne to haue pleasure and delite in. To remedie all this they haue founde oute a meanes, whiche, as it is agreable to all their other lawes and customes, so it is from ours, where golde is so much set by, and so diligently kept, very farre discripant and repugnant: and therefore vncredible, but onelye to them that be wise. For where as they eate and drinke in earthen and glasse vesselles, whiche in dede be curiouslye and properlye made, and yet be of very small value: of golde and syluer they make commonly chamber pottes, and other vesselles, that serue for moste vile vses, not onely in their common halles, but in euery mans priuate house. Furthermore of the same mettalles they make greate chaines, fetters, and gieues wherin the[y] tie their bondmen. Finally whosoouer for anye offense be infamed, by their eares hange rynges of golde: vpon their fyngers they weare rynges of golde, and aboute their neckes chaines of golde: and in conclusion their heades be tied aboute with gold. Thus by al meanes possible thei procure to haue golde and siluer among them in reproche and infamie. And these mettalles, which other nations do as greuouly and forowefullye forgo, as in a manner their owne liues: if they should altogether at ones be taken from the Utopians, no man there would thinke that he had lost the worth of one farthing. They ga-

O wonderfull
contumelie of
golde.

Golde the re-
prochful badge
of infamed per-
sons.

ther also pearles by the sea side, and Diamondes and carbuncles vpon certen rockes, and yet they seke not for them: but by chaunce finding them, they cut and polish them. And therwith thei deck their yonge infauntes. Whiche like as in the first yeres of their childhod, they make muche and be fonde and proude of such ornamentes, so when they be a litle more growen in yeares and discretion, perceiuing that none but children do weare such toies and trifels: they lay them away euen of their owne shamefasteness, wythoute anye byddyng of their parentes: euen as oure chyl dren, when they waxe bygge, doo caste awaye nuttes, brouches, and puppettes. Therefore these lawes and customes, whiche be so farre differente from al other nations, howe diuers fantasies also and myndes they doo cause, dydde I neuer so playnelie perceau, as in the Ambassadours of the Anemolians.

Gemmes and precious stones, toyes for yonge children to playe withall.

These Ambassadoures came to Amaurote whiles I was there. And because they came to entreate of great and weightie matters, those three citizens a pece oute of euerie citie were comen thether before them. But all the Ambassadours of the nexte countreis, whiche had bene there before, and knewe the fashions and maners of the Utopians, amonge whom they perceaued no honoure geuen to sumptuous apparell, silkes to be contemned, golde also to be infamed and reprochful, were wont to come thether in verie homelye and simple araie. But the Anemolians because they dwell farre thence, and had very litle a[c]quaintaunce with them: hearinge that they were all apparelled a like, and that verie rudely and homely: thinkinge them not to haue the thinges whiche they did not weare: being therfore more proude, then wise: determyned in the gorgiounes of their apparel to represente verie goddes, and wyth the brighte shyninge and glifteryng of their gay clothing to dasell the eyes of the filie poore Utopians. So there came in. iii. Ambassadours with. c. [an hundred] seruantes all apparelled in

A very pleasaunt tale.

changeable colours: the moste of them in filkes: the Ambassadours themselves (for at home in their owne cuntry they were noble men) in cloth of gold, with great cheines of gold, with golde hanginge at their eares, with gold ringes upon their fingers, with brouches and aglettes of gold vpon their cappes, which glistered ful of peerles and precious stones: to be short trimmed, and adourned with al those thinges, which among the Utopians were either the punishment of bondmen, or the reproche of infamed perones, or elles trifels for yonge children to playe withal. Therefore it wolde haue done a man good at his harte to haue sene howe proudelye they displyed their pecockes fethers, howe muche they made of their paynted sheathes, and howe loftely they fet forth and aduanced them selves, when they compared their gallaunte apparrell with the poore rayment of the Utopians. For al the people were swarmed forth into the stretes. And on the other side it was no lesse pleasure to consider howe muche they were deceaued, and how farre they missed of their purpose being contrary wayes taken, then they thought they should haue bene. For to the eyes of all the Utopians, excepte very fewe, which had bene in other countreys for some resonable cause, al that gorgeoufnes of apparel seemed shamefull and reprocheful. In so muche that they most reuerently saluted the vilest and most abiect of them for lordes: passing ouer the Ambassadours themselves without any honour: iudging them by their wearing of golden cheynes to be bondmen. Yea you shoulde haue sene children also, that had caste away their peerles and pretious stones, when they sawe the like sticking vpon the Ambassadours cappes: digge and pushe their mothers vnder the sides, sainge thus to them. Loke mother
 O wittie head. how great a lubbor doth yet were peerles and precious stoones, as though he were a litel child stil. But the mother, yea and that also in good earnest: peace sone, faithe she: I thinke he be some of the Ambassadours fooles. Some founde faulte at their

golden cheines, as to no vse nor purpose, being so smal and weake, that a bondeman might easely breake them, and agayne so wyde and large, that when it pleased him, he myght cast them of, and runne away at libertye whether he woulde. But when the Ambasadoures hadde bene there a daye or. ii. and sawe so greate abundaunce of gold so lyghtely esteimed, yea in no lesse reproche, then it was with them in honour: and besides that more golde in the cheines and gieues of one fugitiue bondman, then all the costelye ornamentes of them. iii. was worth: they beganne to abate their courage, and for very shame layde away al that gorgyouse arraye, whereof they were so proud. And speccially when they had talked familiarlye with the Utopians, and had learned al their fassions and opinions.

For they marueyle that any men be so folyse, as to haue delite and pleasure in the doubtful glisteringe of a lytil tryffelynge stone, which maye beholde annye of the starres, or elles the sonne it selfe. Or that anye man is so madde, as to count him selfe the nobler for the smaller or fyner threde of wolle, which selfe same wol (be it now in neuer so fyne a sponne threde) a shepe did ones weare: and yet was she all that time no other thing then a shepe. They marueile also that golde, whych of the owne nature is a thinge so vnprofytable, is nowe amonge all people in so hyghe estimation, that man him selfe, by whome, yea and for the vse of whome it is so much set by, is in mucche lesse estimation, then the golde it selfe. In so mucche that a lumpyshe blockehedded churle, and whyche hathe no more wytte

Doubtful he calleth it, either in consideration and respecte of counterfeite stones, or elles he calleth doubtful very littel worthe.

A true saing and a wittie.

then an asse, yea and as ful of noughtynes as of follye, shall haue neuertheles manye wyse and good men in subiectyon and bondage, only for this, bycause he hath a greate heape of golde. Whyche yf it shoulde be taken from hym by anye fortune, or by some subtyll wyle and cautele of the lawe, (whyche no lesse then fortune dothe bothe raise vp the lowe, and plucke

downe the highe) and be geuen to the moſte vile ſlaue and abiect dryuell of all his houſholde, then ſhortely after he ſhal goo into the ſeruice of his ſeruaunt, as an augmentation nor ouerplus beſide his money. But they

Howe muche more witte is in the heades of the Utopianes then of the common ſorte of chriſtianes.

muche more maruell at and deteſt the madnes of them, whyche to thoſe riche men, in whoſe debte and daunger they be not, do giue almoſt diuine honoures, for none other conſideration, but bicauſe they be riche: and yet knowing them to bee ſuche nigefhe penny fathers, that they be ſure as longe as they liue, not the worthe of one farthinge of that heape of gold ſhal come to them.

Theſe and ſuch like opinions haue they conceaued, partely by education, beinge brought vp in that common wealth, whoſe lawes and cuſtomes be farre different from theſe kindes of folly, and partely by good litterature and learning. For though there be not many in euery citie, which be exempte and diſcharged of all other laboures, and appointed only to learning, that is to ſaye: ſuche in whome euen from their very childhode they haue perceaued a ſingular towardnes, a fyne witte, and a minde apte to good learning: yet all in their childhode be inſtructe in learninge. And the better parte of the people, bothe men and women throughe oute all their whole lyffe doo beſtowe in learninge thoſe ſpare houres, which we ſayde

The ſtudies and literature amonge the Utopianes.

they haue vacante from bodelye laboures. They be taughte learninge in their owne natyue tong. For it is bothe copious in woordes, and alſo pleaſaunte to the eare: and for the vtterance of a mans minde very perfecte and ſure. The moſte parte of all that fyde of the worlde vſeth the ſame langage, ſauinge that amonge the Utopians it is fyneſte and pureſte, and accordinge to the diuerſytye of the countreys it is dyuerſlye alterede. Of all theſe Philoſophers, whoſe names be heare famous in this parte of the worlde to vs knowen, before oure cumyng thether not aſmuch as the fame of annye of

them was cumen amonge them. And yet in Musike, Logike, Arythmetyke, and Geometrye they haue founde oute in a manner all that oure auncient Philosophers haue tawghte. But as they in all thinges be almoste equal to oure olde auncyente clerkes, so oure newe Logiciens in subtyl inuentions haue farre passed and gone beyonde them. For they haue not deuyfed one of all those rules of restrictions, amplifications and suppositions, verrye wittelye inuented in the small Logicales, whyche heare oure children in euery place do learne. Furthermore they were neuer yet hable to fynde out the seconde intentions: infomuche that none of them all coulde euer see man himselfe in comen, as they cal him, thoughe he be (as you knowe) bygger than euer was annye gyaunte, yea and poynted to of vs euen wyth our fynger. But they be in the course of the starres, and the mouynges of the heauenly spheres verrye expert and cunynge. They haue also wittely excogitated and diuifed instrumentes of diuers fassions: wherein is exactly comprehended and conteyned the mouynges and situations of the sonne, the mone, and of al the other starres, which appere in their horizon. But as for the amityes and dissentions of the planettes, and all that deceytfeful diuination by the starres, they neuer asmuch as dreamed thereof. Raynes, windes, and other courses of tempestes they knowe before by certeine tokens, which they haue learned by long vse and obseruation. But of the causes of al these thinges and of the ebbing, flowinge, and saltenes of the sea, and finallye of the original begynnyng and nature of heauen and of the worlde, they holde partelye the same opinions that oure olde Philosophers hold, and partely, as our Philosophers varye among themselves, so they also, whiles they bringe newe reasons of thinges, do disagree from all them, and yet among themselves in all poyntes they doe not accorde. In that part of Phi-

Musike
Logike.
Arithemetike
Geometrie

In this place
semethe to be a
nipping taunte.

Astronomie.

Yet amonge
christians this
geere is highli
estemed thies
daies.

they haue

Naturall phi-
losophie is a
knowledge
most vncertain.

Moral philosophie. Philosophie, which intreateth of manners and vertue, their reasons and opinions agree with ours. They dispute of the good qualities of the soule, of the body, and of fortune. And whether the name of goodnes maye be applied to all these, or onely to the endowments and giftes of the soule.

The order of good thinges. They reason of vertue and pleasure. But the chiefe and principall question is in what thinge, be it one or moe, the felicitye of man consisteth. But in this poynte they seme almoste to muche geuen and enclined to the opinion of them, which defende pleasure, wherein they determine either all or the chiefeste parte of mans felicitye to rest. And (whyche is more to bee marueled at)

The Utopianes holde opinion that felicitye consisteth in honest pleasure. the defense of this soo deyntye and delicate an opinion, they fetche euen from their graue, sharpe, bytter, and rygorous religion. For they neuer dispute of felicitye or blessednes, but they ioyne vnto the reasons of Philosophie certeyne principles taken oute of religion: wythoute the whyche to the inuestigation of trewe felicitye they thynke reason of it selfe weake and vnperfecte. Those principles be these and such lyke. That the soule is immortal: and by ye bountifull goodnes of God ordeined to felicitie. That to our vertues and good deades rewardes be appointed after this life, and to our euell deades punishmentes. Though these be perteyning to religion, yet they thincke it mete that they shoulde be beleued and graunted by profes

The principles of philosophie grounded vpon religion. of reason. But yf these principles were condempned and dysanulled, then without anye delaye they pronounce no man to be so foolish, whiche woulde not do all his diligence and endeouore to obteyne pleasure be ryght or wronge, onely auoydunge this inconuenience, that the lesse pleasure should not be a let or hinderance to the bigger: or that he laboured not for that

The theologie of the Utopianes. The immortalitie of the soule, wherof these dayes certeyne Christianes be in doubt.

The theologie of the Utopianes. The immortalitie of the soule, wherof these dayes certeyne Christianes be in doubt.

pleasure, whiche would bringe after it displeasure, greefe, and sorrow. For they iudge it extreame madnes to folowe sharpe and painful vertue, and not only to bannishe ye pleasure of life, but also willingly to suffer grieffe, without anye hope of proffit thereof ensuinge. For what proffit can there be, if a man, when he hath passed ouer all his lyfe vnpleasauntly, that is to say, miserablye, shall haue no rewarde after his death? But nowe syr they thinke not felicitie to reste in all pleasure, but only in that pleasure that is good and honeste, and that hereto, as to perfet blessednes our nature is allured and drawen euen of vertue, whereto onlye they that be of the contrary opinion do attribute felicitie. For they define vertue to be life ordered according to nature, and that we be here vnto ordeined of god. And that he dothe followe the course of nature, which in desiering and reusinge things is ruled by reason. Furthermore that reason doth chiefly and principallye kendle in men the loue and veneration of the deuine maiestie. Of whose goodnes it is that we be, and that we be in possibilitie to attayne felicitie. And that secondarely it bothe stirreth and prouoketh vs to leade our lyfe oute of care in ioy and mirth, and also moueth vs to helpe and further all other in respecte of ye societe of nature to obteine and enioye ye same. For there was neuer man so earnest and paineful a follower of vertue and hater of pleasure, yat wold so inioyne you laboures, watchinges, and fastinges, but he would also exhort you to ease, lighten, and relieue, to your powre, ye lack and misery of others, praying the same as a dede of humanitie, and pitie. Then if it be a poynte of humanitie for man to bring health and comforte to man, and speciallye (which is a vertue moste peculiarlye belonging to man) to mitigate and assuage the greife of others, and by takyng from them the sorowe and heynes of lyfe, to restore them to ioye, that is to saye to pleasure: whie maye it not then be sayd, that nature

As euery pleasure ought not to be inhaunced so greife is not to be pursued but for vertues sake.

In this definition of vertue they agre with the Stoicians.

The worke and effecte of reason in man.

doth prouoke euerye man to doo the same to himselfe ?

But nowe a daies some ther bee that wyllyngly procure vnto themselfes painefull griefes, as though therin rested some hiegh pointe of religion, whereas rather the religiously disposed person, yf they happen to him either by chaunce or elles by naturall necessitie, ought pacientlye to receaue and suffer them.

For a ioyfull lyfe, that is to say, a pleasaunt lyfe is either euel : and if it be so, then thou shouldest not onely helpe no man therto, but rather, as much as in the lieth, withdrawe all men frome it, as noysome and hurtful, or els if thou not only mayste, but also of dewty art bound to procure it to others, why not chiefly to the selfe ? To whome thou art bound to shew asmuch fauoure and gentelnes as to other. For when nature biddeth the to be good and gentle to other she commaundeth the not to be cruell and vngentle to the selfe. Therefore euen very nature (saye they) prescribeth to vs a ioyful lyfe, that is to say, pleasure as the ende of all oure operations. And they define vertue to be lyfe ordered accordynge to the prescripte of nature. But in that that nature dothe allure and prouoke men one to healpe another to lyue merily (which fuerly she doth not without a good cause : for no man is so farre aboue the lotte of mans state or condicion, that nature dothe carke and care for hym onely, whiche equallye fauourethe all, that be comprehended vnder the communion of one shape forme and fassion) verely she commaundeth the to vse diligent circumspection, that thou do not so seke for thine owne commodities, that thou procure others incommodities. Wherefore their opinion is, that not only couenauntes and bargaynes made amonge priuate men ought to be well and faythefullye fulfilled, obserued, and kepte, but also common lawes, whiche either a good prince hath iustlye published, or els the people neither oppressed with tyranye, neither deceaued by fraude and gyell, hath by their common consent constituted and ratified, concerninge the particion of the commodities of lyfe, that is to say, the matter of pleasure. These lawes not offended, it is wysdome, that thou looke to thine own

wealth. And to doe the same for the common wealth is no lesse then thy duetie, if thou bearest any reuerent loue, or any naturall zeale and affection to thy natiue countrey. But to go about to let an other man of his pleasure, whiles thou procurest thine owne, that is open wrong. Contrary wyse to withdrawe somethinge from the selfe to geue to other, that is a pointe of humanitie and gentilnes: whiche neuer taketh awaye so muche commoditie, as it bringethe agayne. For it is recompensed with the retourne of benefytes, and the conscience of the good dede, with the remembraunce of the thankfull loue and beneuolence of them to whom thou hast done it, doth bringe more pleasure to thy mynde, then that whiche thou hast withholden from thy selfe could haue brought to thy bodye. Finallye (which to a godly disposed and a religious mind is easy to be perswaded) God recompenseth the gifte of a short and smal pleasure with great and euerlastinge ioye. Therefore the matter diligently weyede and considered, thus they thinke, that all our actions, and in them the vertues themselves be referred at the last to pleasure, as their ende and felicitie. Pleasure they call euery motion and state of the bodie or mynde, wherin man hath naturally delectation. Appetite they ioyne to nature, and that not without a good cause. For like as, not, only the senses, but also right reason coueteth whatsoeuer is naturally pleasaunt, for yat it may be gotten without wrong or iniurie, not letting or debarring a greater pleasure, nor causing painful labour, euen so those thinges that men by vaine ymagination do fayne against nature to be pleasaunt (as though it laye in their power to chaunge ye thinges, as they do ye names of thinges) al suche pleasures they beleue to be of so small helpe and furtheraunce to felicitie, that they counte them a great let and hinderaunce. Because that in whom they haue ones taken place, all his mynde they possesse with a false opinion of pleasure. So that there is no place left for true and

The mutual recourse of kindnes.

The definition of Pleasure.

False and counterfeate pleasures.

naturall delectations. For there be many things, which of their owne nature conteyne no plesauntnes: yea the moſte parte of them muche grieſe and ſorrowe. And yet throughe the peruerſe and malicyous flickeringe inticementes of lewde and vnhoneſte deſyres, be taken not only for ſpeciall and ſouereigne pleaſures, but alſo be counted amonge the chiefe cauſes of life. In this counterfeat kinde of pleaſure they put them that

The error of
them that eſtyme
themſelves the
more for appar-
relles ſake.

I ſpake of before. Whiche the better gownes they haue on, the better men they thinke them ſelfes. In the which thing they doo twyſe erre. For they be no leſſe deceaued in that they thinke their gowne the better, than they be, in that they thinke themſelves the better. For if you conſider the profitable uſe of the garmente, whye ſhould wulle of a fyner ſponne threde, be thoug[h]t better, than the wul of a courſe ſponne threde? Yet they, as though the one did paſſe the other by nature, and not by their miſtakyng, auance themſelves, and thinke the price of their owne perſones thereby greatly encreaſed. And therefore the honour, which in a courſe gowne they durſte not haue looked for, they require, as it were of dewtie, for their fyner gownes ſake. And if they be paſſed by without reuerence, they take it diſpleaſantly and diſdainfullye.

Foliſh honore. And agayne is it not lyke madnes to take a pryde in vayne and vnprofitable honours? For what naturall or trewe pleaſure doeſt thou take of an other mans bare hede, or bowed knees? Will this eaſe the paine of thy knees, or remedie the phrenſie of thy hede? In this ymage of counterfeite pleaſure, they be of a maruelous madneſſe, whiche for the opinion of nobilitie, reioyſe muche in their owne conceyte. Be-
Vaine nobili-
tie.

cause it was their fortune to come of ſuche auncetoures, whoſe ſtocke of longe tyme hath bene counted ryche (for nowe nobilitie is nothing elles) ſpecialllye riche in landes. And though their auncetours left them not one foote of lande, or els they themſelues haue pyſſed it agaynſte the walles, yet

they thinke themfelues not the lesse noble therfore of one heare. In this number also they counte them that take pleasure and delite (as I said) in gemmes and precious stones, and thynke themfelues almoste goddes, if they chaunce to gette an excellent one, speciallye of that kynde, whiche in that tyme of their own countre men, is had in hyghest estimation. For one kynde of stone kepeth not his pryce styll in all countreis, and at all times. Nor they bye them not, but taken out of the golde, and bare: no nor so neither, vntyll they haue made the feller to sweare, that he will warraunte and assure it to be a true stone, and no counterfeit gemme. Suche care they take lest a counterfeite stone should deceaue their eyes in steade of a ryghte stone. But why shouldest thou not take euen asmuche pleasure in beholdynge a counterfeite stone, whiche thine eye cannot discerne from a righte stone? They shoulde bothe be of lyke value to thee, euen as to the blynde man. What shall I faye of them, that kepe superfluous riches, to take delectation only in the beholdinge, and not in the vse or occupiynge thereof? Do they take trew pleasure, or elles be thei deceaued with false pleasure? Or of them that be in a contrarie vice, hidinge the gold whiche they shall neuer occupye, nor peradventure neuer se more? And whiles they take care leaste they shall leese it, do leese it in dede. For what is it elles, when they hyde it in the ground, takynge it bothe from their owne vse, and perchance frome all other mennes also? And yet thou, when thou haste hydde thy treasure, as one out of all care, hoppest for ioye. The whiche treasure, yf it shoulde chaunce to bee stolen. and thou ignoraunt of the theste shouldest dye tenne years after: all that tenne yeares space that thou lyuedest after thy money was stoolen, what matter was it to thee, whether it hadde bene taken awaye or elles safe as thou lefdeste

Pleasure in
precious stones
most folish.

The opinion and
fansie of people
doeth augment
and diminish
the price and
estimation
of precious stones.

Beholders of
treasure, not
occupiynge the
same.

Hyders of
treasure.

A prettie fiction
and a wittie.

it? Trewlye both wayes like profytte came to thee. To these so foolyshe pleasures they ioyne dicers, whose madnesse they knowe by hearfay, and not Dice playe. by vse. Hunters also, and hawkers. For what pleasure is there (say they) in castinge the dice vpon a table. Which thou hast done so often, that if there wer any pleasure in it, yet the oft vse might make thee werie thereof? Or what delite can Huntinge and hawkinge. there be, and not rather dyspleasure in hearynge the barkynge and howlynge of dogges? Or what greater pleasure is there to be felte, when a dogge followeth an hare, then when a dogge followeth a dogge? for one thinge is done in bothe, that is to saye, runnyng, yf thou haste pleasure therin. But yf the hope of slaughter, and the expectation of tearynge in peces the beast doth please thee: thou shouldest rather be moued with pitie to see a felye innocente hare murdered of a dogge: the weake of the stronger, the fearefull of the feare, the innocente of the cruell and vnmercyfull.

Therefore all thys exercyse of huntyng, as Hunting the basest parte of bouchers among the Utopians, and yet this is nowe the exercise of most noble men. a thyng vnworthye to be vsed of free men, the Utopians haue reiected to their bouchers to the whiche craft (as we sayde before) they appointe their bondemen. For they counte huntyng the lowest, the vyldest, and mooste abiecte part of boucherie, and the other partes of it more profitable, and more honeste, as bryngyng muche more commoditie, in that they kyll beastes onely for necessitie. Where as the hunter seketh nothinge but pleasure of the seelye and wofull beastes slaughter and murder. The whiche pleasure in beholdinge deathe, they thinke doeth rise in the very beastes, either of a cruel affection of mind, or els to be chaunged in continuance of time into crueltie, by longe vse of so cruell a pleasure. These therefore and all suche like, whiche be innumerable, though the common sorte of people doth take them for pleasures, yet they, seing there is no natural pleasauntnes in them, do playnly determine them to haue no affinitie with trew and right

pleasure. For as touchinge that they do commonlye moue the sense with delectation (whiche semeth to be a worke of pleasure) this doeth nothyng diminishe their opinion. For not the nature of the thing, but their peruerse and lewde custome is the cause hereof. Whiche causeth them to accept bitter or sowre thynges for swete thynges. Euen as women with child in their viciate and corrupte taste, thynke pytche and tallowe sweter then any honey. Howbeit no mannes iudgemente depraued and corrupte, either by fyckenes, or by custome, can change the nature of pleasure, more then it can do the nature of other things. They make diuers kindes of pleasures. For some The kindes of
trew pleasures. they attribute to the soule, and some to the body. To the soule they geue intelligence, and that delectation, that commeth of the contemplation of trewth. Hereunto is ioyned the pleasaunte remembraunce of the good lyfe paste. The The pleasures
of the bodye. pleasure of the bodye they deuide into ii. partes. The first is when delectation is sensibly felt and perceaued. Whiche many times chaunceth by the renewing and refreshing of those partes, whiche oure naturall heate drieth vp. This commeth by meate and drynke. And sometymes whyles those thynges be expulsed, and voyded, wherof is in the body ouer great abundaunce. This pleasure is felt, when we do our natural easement, or when we be doying the acte of generation, or when the ytching of any part is eased with rubbing or scratchyng. Sometimes pleasure riseth exhibitinge to any membre nothyng that it desireth, nor takyng from it any paine that it feeleth, which neuerthelesse tikleth and moueth oure senses wyth a certeine secrete efficacie, but with a manifest motion turnethe them to it. As is that whiche commeth of musicke. The seconde parte of bodely pleasure they say, is that which consisteth and resteth in the quiete, and vpryghte state Bodily health. of the bodye. And that trewlye is euerye mannes owne propre health entermingled and dis-

turbed with no griefe. For this, yf it be not letted nor assaulted with no greif, is delectable of it selfe, though it be moued with no externall or outwarde pleasure. For though it be not so plain and manyfeste to the sense, as the gredye luste of eatynge and drynkyng, yet neuerthelesse manye take it for the chiefeste pleasure. All the Utopians graunt it to be a right souereigne pleasure, and as you woulde saye the foundation and grounde of all pleasures, as whiche euen alone is hable to make the state and condition of life delectable and pleasaunt. And it beyng once taken awaye, there is no place lefte for any pleasure. For to be without greife not hauinge health, that they call vnsensibilitie, and not pleasure. The Utopians haue long ago reiected and condempned the opinion of them, whiche sayde that stedfaste and quiete healthe (for this question also hath bene diligently debated amonge them) oughte not therfore to be counted a pleasure, bycause they saye it can not be presentlye and sensiblye perceaued and felte by some outwarde motion. But of the contrarie parte nowe they agree almooste all in this, that healthe is a moost soueraigne pleasure. For feynge that in sycknesse (saye they) is greiffe, whiche is a mortal enemye to pleasure, euen as sicknes is to health, why should not then pleasure be in the quietnes of health? For they say it maketh nothing to this matter, whether you saye that sycknesse is a griefe, or that in sickenes is griefe, for all commethe to one purpose. For whether health be a pleasure it selfe, or a necessary cause of pleasure, as fier is of heate, truelye bothe waye it foloweth, that they cannot be withoute pleasure, that be in perfect helth. Furthermore whiles we eat (say they) then healthe, whiche beganne to be appayred, fighteth by the helpe of foode againste hunger. In the which fight, whiles health by litle and litle getteth the vpper hande, that same procedyng, and (as ye would say) that onwardnes to the wonte strenght ministreth that pleasure, whereby we be so refreshed. Health therfore, whiche in the conflict is ioyefull, shall it not be mery, when it

hath gootten the victorie? But as soone as it hath recovered the pristinate strength, which thing onely in all the fight it coueted, shal it incontinent be astonied? Nor shal it not know nor imbrace the owne wealthe and goodnes? For where it is said, healthe can not be felt: this, they thinke, is nothing trew. For what man wakyng, say they, felethe not himselfe in health: but he that is not? Is there anye man so possessed with stonifhe insensibilitie, or with lethargie, that is to say, the sleping sicknes, that he will not graunt healthe to be acceptable to him, and delectable?

Delectation.

But what other thinge is delectation, than that whiche by an other name is called pleasure? They imbrace chieflie the pleasures of the mind. For them they counte the chieft and most principall of all. The chiefe parte of them they thinke doth come of the exercise of vertue, and conscience of good life. Of these pleasures that the body ministreth, they geue ye preeminence to helth. For the delite of eating and drinking, and whatsoever hath any like pleasauntnes, they determyne to be pleasures muche to be desired, but no other wayes than for healthes sake. For suche thinges of their own proper nature be not so pleasaunt, but in that they resiste sicke-nesse priuelie stealing on. Therefore like as it is a wise mans part, rather to auoid sicknes, then to wishe for medicines, and rather to driue away and put to flight carefull griefes, then to call for comfort: so it is muche better not to neade this kinde of pleasure, then thereby to be eased of the contrarie grieve. The whiche kinde of pleasure, yf anye man take for his felicitie, that man must nedes graunt, that then he shalbe in most felicitie, if he liue that life, which is led in continuall hunger, thurste, itching, eatinge, drynkynge, scratchynge, and rubbing. The which life how not only foule, and vnhonest, but also howe miserable, and wretched it is, who perceueth not? These doubtles be the basest pleasures of al, as vnpure and vnperfect. For they neuer come, but accompanied with their contrarie

The pleasures
of the mynde.

griefes. As with the pleasure of eating is ioyned hunger, and yat after no very egal fort. For of these. ii. ye griefe is both the more vehement, and also of longer continuance. For it beginneth before the pleasure, and endeth not vntil the pleasure die with it. Wherefore suche pleasures they thinke not greatlye to be set by, but in yat thei be necessari. Howbeit they haue delite also in these, and thankfulli knowledge ye tender loue of mother nature, which with most pleasaunt delectation allureth her children to that, to the necessarie vse wherof they must from time to time continually be forced and driuen. For how wretched and miserable should our life be, if these dailie greffes of hunger and thurst coulde not be driuen awaye, but with bitter potions, and sower medicines, as the other

The giftes of nature. diseases be, wherewith we be feldomer troubled? But beutie, strengthe, nembles, these as peculiar and pleasaunt giftes of nature they make muche of. But those pleasures that be receaued by the eares, the eyes, and the nose, whiche nature willeth to be proper and peculiar to man (for no other liuinge creature doth behold the fairenes and the bewtie of the worlde, or is moued with any respecte of fauours, but onely for the diuersitie of meates, neither perceaueth the concordante and discordant distaunces of foundes, and tunes) these pleasures, I say, they accept and alowe as certen pleasaunte reioynges of life. But in all thinges this cautel they vse, that a lesse pleasure hinder not a bigger, and that the pleasure be no cause of displeasure, whiche they thinke to folow of necessitie, if the pleasure be vnhoneste. But yet to dispise the comlines of bewtie, to wast the bodelie strength, to turne nimblenes into sloughishnesse, to consume and make feble the bodie with fastinge, to do iniurie to healte, and to reiecte the pleasaunte motions of nature, onles a man neglecte these commodities, whiles he dothe with a feruent zeale procure the wealthe of others, or the commen profite, for the whiche pleasure forborne, he is in hoope of a greater

pleasure at goddes hande, elles for a vaine shaddow of vertue, for the wealth and profite of no man, to punish himselfe, or to the intente he maye be hable couragiously to suffer aduersitie: which perchaunce shall neuer come to him, this to do they thinke it a point of extreame madnes, and a token of a man cruelly minded towards himselfe, and vnkind towards nature, as one so disdainyng to be in her daunger, that he renounceth and refuseth all her benefites.

This is their sentence and opinion of vertue and pleasure. And they beleue that by mans reason none can be found trewer then this, onles any Marke this well. godlyer be inspired into man from heuen.

Wherin whether they beleue well or no neither the time doth suffer vs to discusse neither it is nowe necessarie. For we haue taken vpon vs to shewe and declare their lores and ordinaunces, and not to defende them. But this thyng I beleue verely: howe soeuer these decrees be, that there is in no place of the world, neyther a more excellent people, neither a more flourishyng commen wealth. They be lyghte and quicke of bodie, full of actiuitie and nimblenes, and of more strength then a man The wealth and description of the Utopians. woulde iudge them by their stature, which for all that is not to lowe. And though theyr foyle be not verie frutefull, nor their aier very wholsome, yet againste the ayer they so defende them with temperate diete, and so order and husbande their grounde with diligente trauaile, that in no countrey is greater increase, and plentye of corne and cattell, nor mens bodies of longer lyfe, and subiect or apte to fewer diseases. There therefore a man maye see well, and diligently exploited and furnished, not onely those thinges whiche husbandemen do commenly in other countreis, as by craft and cunnynge to remedie the barrennes of the grounde: but also a whole wood by the handes of the people plucked vp by the rootes in one place, and set againe in an other place. Wherein was had regard and consideration, not of plenty, but of commodious

carriage, that wood and timber might be nigher to the sea, or the riuers, or, ye cities. For it is lesse labour and businesse to carri grayne farre by land, than wood. The people be gentle, merie, quicke, and fyne witted, delitinge in quietnes, and when nede requireth, hable to abide and suffer much bodelie labour. Els they be not greatly desirous and fond of it: but in the exercise and studie of the mind they be neuer wery. When

The vtilitie of
the greke tonge.

they had herd me speak of ye greke literature or lerning (for in latin there was nothing that I thought they would greatly alow, besides historiens and Poetes) they made wonderfull earneste and importunate sute vnto me that I would teach and instructe them in that tonge and learninge. I beganne therfore to reade vnto them, at the first truelie more bicause I would not seme to refuse the labour, then that I hooped that they would any thing profite therein. But when I had gone forward a litle, I perceaued in-

A wonderfull
aptnes to lear-
ninge in the
Utopians.

continente by their diligence, that my labour should not be bestowed in vaine. For they began so easelie to fashion their letters, so plainlie to pronounce the woordes, so quickelie to learne by hearte, and so fuerlie to rehearse the same, that I maruailed at it, fauinge that

But now most
blockhedded as-
ses be sette to
learninge, and
mostpregnaunt
wittes corrupt
with pleasures

the most parte of them were fine, and chofen wittes and of ripe age, piked oute of the companie of the learned men, whiche not onelie of their owne free and voluntarie will, but also by the commaundemente of the counsell, vndertoke to learne this langage. Therefore in lesse then thre yeres space there was nothing in the Greke tonge that they lacked. They were hable to rede good authors withoute anie staye, if the booke were not false. This kynde of learninge, as I suppose, they toke so muche the sooner, bycause, it is sumwhat allyaunte to them. For I thinke that this nation tooke their beginninge of the Grekes, bicause their speche, which in al other poyntes is not much vnlyke the Persian tonge, kepeth dyuers signes and tokens of the

greke langage in the names of their cityes, and of their magistrates. They haue of me (for when I was determined to entre into my. iiii. voyage, I caste into the shippe in the steade of marchandise a prety fardel of bookes, bycause I intended to come againe rather neuer, than shortly) they haue, I saye, of me the moste parte of Platoes workes, more of Aristotles, also Theophrastus of plantes, but in diuers places (which I am forye for) vnperfecte. For whiles we were a shipborde, a marmoset chaunced vpon the booke, as it was negligentlye layde by, which wantonlye playinge therewith plucked oute certeyne leaues, and toore them in pieces. Of them that haue wrytten the grammer, they haue onelye Lascaris. For Theodorus I caried not wyth me, nor neuer a dictionayre, but Hesichius, and Dioscorides. They sett greate store by Plutarches bookes. And they be delyted wyth Lucianes mery conceytes and iestes. Of the Poetes they haue Aristophanes, Homer, Euripides, and Sophocles in Aldus small prynte. Of the Historians they haue Thucidides, Herodotus, and Herodian. Also my companion, Tricius Apinatus caried with him phisick bokes, certein smal woorkes of Hippocrates and Galenes Microtechne. The whyche boke they haue in greate estimation. For thoughe there be almost no nation vnder heauen that hath lesse nede of Phisicke then they, yet this notwithstanding, Phisicke is no where in greater honour. Phisicke hieghly regarded. Bycause they counte the knowledge of it among the goodlyeste, and most profytable partes of Philosophie. For whyles they by the helpe of this Philosophie searche oute the secrete mysteryes of nature, they thinke themselves to receaue therby not onlye wonderfull greate pleasure, but also to obtaine great thanks and fauour of the autour and maker therof. Whome they thinke according to ye fassion of other artificers, The contemplacion of nature. to haue set furth the maruelous and gorgeous frame of the world for man with great affeccion intentiuely to beholde. Whom only he hath

made of witte, and capacitie to confidre and vnderstand the excellencie of so great a woork. And therefore he beareth (say they) more goodwil and loue to the curious and diligent beholder and vewer of his woork and maruelour at the same, then he doth to him, which like a very brute beaste without witte and reason, or as one without sense or mouing, hathe no regarde to soo greate and soo wonderfull a spectacle. The wittes therefore of the Utopians inured and exercised in learnynge, be marueilous quycke in the inuention of feates helpinge annye thinge to the aduantage and wealthe of lyffe. Howbeit. ii. feates they maye thanke vs for. That is, the scyence of imprinting, and the crafte of makeinge paper. And yet not onely vs but chieflye and principallye themselves.

For when we shewed to them Aldus his print in bookes of paper, and told them of the stuffe wherof paper is made, and of the feate of grauing letters, speakinge sumwhat more, then we colde plainlye declare (for there was none of vs, that knewe perfectlye either the one or the other) they furthwith very wittely coniectured the thinge. And where as before they wrote onely in skinnes, in barks of tryes, and in rides, nowe they haue attempted to make paper, and to imprint letters. And thoughe at the first yt proued not all of the beste, yet by often assayinge the same they shortelye got the feate of bothe. And haue so broughte the matter aboute, that yf they had copleys of Greeke authores, they coulde lacke no bookes. But nowe they haue no moore, then I rehearsed before, sauinge that by pryntyng of bookes they haue multiplyed and increased the same into manye thousandes of copys. Whosoever cummethe thether to see the lande, beinge excellent in anye giste of wytte, or throug[h]e muche and longe iournieng we experienced and sene in the knoweledg[e] of many countreies (for the whyche cause wee were very welcome to them) him they receyue and interteyne wonders gentilly, and louinglye. For they haue delite to heare what is done in euerye lande.

howbeit verye fewe merchaunte men come thether. For what shoulde they bring thether, onles it were Iron, or els gold and siluer, whiche they hadde rather carrye home agayne? Also such thinges as are to be caryed oute of theire lande, they thinke it more wysedome to carry that gere furthe themselves, then that other shoulde come thether to fetch it,

toth[e] entente they maye the better knowe the out landes on euerye syde of them, and kepe in vre the feate and knowledge of failinge.

Of Bondemen, sicke persons, wedlocke, and Diuers other matters.



They neither make bondemen of prisoners taken in battayle, oneles it be in battaylle that they foughte them selves, nor of bondmens children, nor to be short, of anye suche as they canne gette oute of forreine countries, though he were theire a bondman. But either suche, as amonge themselves for heinous offences be punyshed with bondage, or elles suche, as in the Cities of other landes for great trespasses be condempned to deathe. And of this sort of bondemen they haue mooste stooore.

A maruelous
equitie of
this nation.

For manye of them they bringe home sumtimes paynge very litle for them, yea mooste commonlye gettinge them for gramercye. These fortes of bondemen they kepe not onely in continual woorke and labour, but also in bandes. But their oune men they handle hardest, whom they Iudge more desperate, and to haue deserued greater punisshemente, bycause they being so godlye broughte vp to vertue in soo excelente a common wealth, could not for all that be refrained from

misdoing. An other kinde of bondemen they haue, when a vile drudge being a poore laborer in an other countrey doth chuefe of his owne free wyll to be a bondman among them. These they intreate and order honestly, and enterteine almoste as gentellye, as their owne free cytyzeins, sauynge that they put them to a lyttle more labour, as thereto accustomed. Yf anny suche, be disposed to departe thens (whiche fel-dome is seene) they neither holde him agaynste his wyll, neither sende him away with emptye hands. The fycke (as I sayde) they see to with great affection, and lette nothing at al passe concerninge either Phisycke or good diete, whereby they may be restored againe to their health. Such as be sicke of incurable diseases they comforte with sittinge by them, with talkinge with them, and to be shorte with all maner of helpes that may be. But yf the disease be not onelye vncurable, but also full of contynuall payne and anguyshe: then the priestes and the magistrates exhort the man, seinge he is not hable to doo anye dewtye of lyffe, and by ouerlyuinge his owne deathe is noysome and irkesome to other, and greuouse to himselfe: that he wyl determine with himselfe no longer to cheryshe that pestilent and peyneful disease. And seinge his lyfe is to him but a tormente, that he wyl not bee vnwillinge to dye, but rather take a good hope to him, and either dispatche himselfe out of that payneful lyffe, as out of a prison, or a racke of tormente, or elles suffer himselfe wyllinglye to be rydde oute of it by other. And in so doinge they tell him he shall doo wysely, seing by his deathe he shall lose no commoditie, but ende his payne. And bycause in that acte he shall followe the counsel of the pryestes, that is to saye, of the interpreters of goddes wyll and pleasure, they shewe him that he shall do lyke a godly and a vertuous man. They that be thus persuaded, fynysh their liues willynglye, either with hunger, or elles dye in their sleape without anye fealing of deathe. But they cause none suche to dye

Of them that
 be sicke.

Voluntarye
 deathe.

agaynste his wyll, nor they vse no lesse dilygence and attendaunce aboute him: beleuinge this to be an honorable deathe. Elles he that killeth himself before that the pryestes and the counsel haue allowed the cause of his deathe, him as vnworthy either to be buryed, or with fier to be consumed, they caste vnburied into some stinkinge marrish. The woman is not maried before she be xviii.

Of wedlocke

yeres olde. The man iiij yeres elder before he marye. If either the man or the woman be proued to haue actually offended before their marriage, with an other, the partye that so hath trespassed is sharplye punished. And bothe the offenders be forbidden euer after in al their lyfe to marrye: oneles the faulte be forgeuen by the princes pardone. But bothe the good man and the good wyfe of the house, where that offense was committed as beinge slacke and neglygent in lokinge to their chardge, be in daunger of greate reproche and infamye. That offense is so sharplye punyshed, bicause they perceauē, that onles they be diligentlye kepte from the libertye of this vice, fewe wyll ioynē together in the loue of marriage, wherein all the lyfe must be led with one, and also all the griefes and displeasures comming therewith paciently be taken and borne. Furthermore in chuesinge wyfes and husbandes they obserue earnestly and straytelye a custome, whiche semed to vs very fonde and folyshē. For a sad

and an honest matrone sheweth the woman, be she mayde or widdowe, naked to the wower. And lykewyse a sage and discrete

Thoughē not
verie honestly,
yet not vn-
wiselye.

man exhibyteth the wower naked to the woman. At this custome we laughed, and disallowed it as foolishe. But they on the other parte doo greatlye wonder at the follye of al other nations, whyche in byngē a colte, whereas a lytle money is in hasarde, be so charye and circumspecte, that thoughē he be almoste all bare, yet they wyll not bye hym, oneles the saddel and all the harneies be taken of, leaste vnder those couerynges be hydde, som galle or soore. And yet in chuesinge a wyfe,

whyche shalbe either pleasure, or displeasure to them all their lyfe after, they be so recheles, that al the refydewe of the woomans bodye beinge couered with cloothes, they esteeme her scafelye be one handebredeth (for they can se no more but her face) and so to ioyne her to them not without greate ieoperdye of euel agreinge together, yf any thing in her body afterward should chaunce of offend and myflyke them.

For all men be not so wyse, as to haue respecte to the vertuous conditions of the partie. And the endowmentes of the bodye cause the vertues of the minde more to be esteemed and regarded: yea euen in the mariages of wyse men. Verely so foule deformitie maye be hydde vnder those coueringes, that it maye quite alienate and take awaye the mans mynde from his wyfe, when it shal not be lawful for their bodies to be separate agayne. If suche deformitie happen by any chaunce after the mariage is consummate and finyshed, wel, there is no remedie but patience. Euery man muste take his fortune wel a worthe. But it were wel done that a lawe were made wherebye all suche deceytes myghte be eschewed, and aduoyded before hande.

And this were they constreyned more earnestlye to looke vpon, because they onlye of the nations in that parte of the worlde bee contente euerye man with one wyfe a piece. And matrymoneie is there neuer broken, but by death: excepte adulterye breake the bonde, or els the intollerable wayewarde maners of either partye. For if either of them finde
 Diuorcement. themselfe for any such cause greued: they maye by the license of the counsel change and take another. But the other partie lyueth euer after in infamy, and out of wedlocke. Howbeit the husbände to put away his wife for no other faulte, but for that some myshappe is fallen to her bodye, this by no meanes they will suffre. For they iudge it a great poynt of crueltie, that anye body in their moste nede of helpe and comforte, shoulde be caste of and forsaken,

and that olde age, whych both bringeth sicknes with it, and is a syckenes it selfe, should vnkindly and vn-faythfullye be delte withall. But nowe and then it chaunfeth, where as the man and the woman cannot well agree betw[e]ne themselfes, both of them fyndinge other, with whome they hope to lyue more quietlye and merylye, that they by the full consente of them bothe be diuorfed a sonder and maried againe to other. But that not without the authoritie of the counsell. Whiche agreeth to no diuorfes, before they and their wyfes haue diligently tried and examyned the matter. Yea and then also they be lothe to consent to it, bycause they know this to be the next way to break loue betwene man and wyfe, to be in easye hope of a new mariage. Breakers of wedlocke be punyshed with mooste greuous bondage. And if both the offenders were maried, then the parties whiche in that behalfe haue sufferede wrong, beinge diuorfed from the auoutrers, be maried together, if they wille, or els to whom they lust. But if either of them both do styl continewe in loue towarde so vnkinde a bedfellowe, the vse of wedlocke is not to them forbidden, if the partye faulteles be disposed to followe in toylinge and drudgerye the person, which for that offence is condempned to bondage. And very ofte it chaunceth that the repentaunce of the one, and the earnestte diligence of the other, dothe so moue the prince with pytie and compassion, that he restoreth the bonde persone from seruitude to libertie and fredom again. But if the same partie be taken estfones in that faulte, there is no other waye but death. To other trespaces no prescript punishmente is appoynted by anye lawe. But accordinge to the heynousenes of the offense, or contrarye, so the punishmente is moderated by the discretion of the counsell. The husbandes chastice their wyfes: and the parentes their children, ones they haue done anye so horryble an offense, that the open punyshement thereof maketh muche for the aduancemente

The decerning
of punishment
putte to the
discretion of
the magistra-
tes.

of honeste maners. But moſte commenlye the moſte heynous faultes be punyſhed with the incommoditie of bondage. For that they ſuppoſe to be to the offenders no leſſe grieſe, and to the common wealth more profit, then yf they ſhould haſtely put them to death, and ſo make them quite out of the waye. For there cummeth more profit of their labour, then of their deathe, and by their example they feare other the longer from lyke offenses. But if they beinge thus uſed, doo rebell and kicke againe, then forſothe they be ſlayne as desperate and wilde beaſtes, whom neither priſon nor chaine coulde reſtraine and kepe vnder. But they, whiche take their bondage pacientlye, be not leſte all hopeles. For after they haue bene broken and tamed with long miſeries, if then thei ſhewe ſuch repentaunce, as therebye it maye bee perceaued that they be foryer for their offense then for their punyſhement: ſumtymes by the Prynces prerogatyue, and ſumtymes by the voyce and conſent of the people, their bondage either is mitigated, or els cleane releaſed and forgeuen. He that moueth to aduoutreye is in no leſſe daunger and ieperdie, then yf he hadde committed aduoutreye in dede. For in all offenses they counte the intente and pretended purpoſe as euel, as the acte or dede it ſelfe, thinking that no lette oughte to excuſe him, that did his beſte to haue no lette. They haue ſingular delite and pleaſure in ſoles. And as it is a greate reproche to do anny of them hurte or iniury, ſo they prohibite not to take pleaſure of foolyſhnes. For that, they thinke, dothe muche good to the fooles. And if any man be ſo ſadde, and ſterne, that he cannot laughe neither at their wordes, nor at their dedes, none of them be committed to his tuition: for feare leaſt he would not intreate them gentilly and fauorably enough: to whom they ſhould brynge no delectation (for other goodnes in them is none) muche leſſe anye proffite ſhoulde they yelde him. To mocke a man for his de-

Motion to ad-
uoutreye pa-
niſhed.

pleaſure of
fooles.

formitie, or for that he lacketh anye parte or lymme of his bodye, is counted greate dishonestye and reproche, not to him that is mocked, but to him that mocketh. Which vnwyfely doth imbrayde anye man of that as a vice, that was not in his powre to eschewe. Also as they counte and reken verye little witte to be in him, that regardeth not naturall bewtie and comlineffe, so to helpe the same with payntinges, is taken for a vaine and a wanton pride, not withoute greate infamie. For they knowe euen by verye experience, that no comelineffe of bewtye doethe so hyghelye commende and auauce the wiues in the conceite of their husbandes, as honest conditions and lowlines. For as loue is oftentimes wonne with bewty, so it is not kept, preferued, and continued, but by vertue and obedience. They do not onely feare their people from doying euil by punishmentes, but also allure them to vertue with rewardes of honoure. Therefore they set vp in the markette place the ymages of notable men, and of such as haue bene great and bounteful benefactors to the commen wealth, for ye perpetual memorie of their good actes: and also that the glory and renowme of the auncetors maye styrre and prouoke their posteritie to vertue. He that inordinatly and ambitiously desireth promotions, is left al hopeles for euer atteining any promotion as long as he liueth. They lyue together louinglye. For no magistrate is eyther hawte or fearfull. Fathers they be called, and lyke fathers they vse themselues. The citezens (as it is their dewtie) willynglye exhibite vnto them dew honoure without any compulsion. Nor the prince himselfe is not known from the other by princely apparell, or a robe of state, nor by a crown or diademe roial, or cap of maintenance, but by a litle sheffe of corne caried before him. And so a taper of wax is borne before ye bishop, wherby onely he is known. They haue but few

Counterfeite
bewtie.

Sinne puni-
shed and ver-
tue rewarded.

The inordinate
desire of ho-
nours condem-
ned.

Magistrates
honoured.

Fewe lawes. lawes. For to people so instructe and institute very fewe do suffice. Yea this thing they chiefly reprove among other nations, that innumerable bookes of lawes and expositions vpon the same be not sufficient. But they think it against all right and iustice that men shoulde be bound to those lawes, which either be in number mo then be hable to be read, or els blinder and darker, then that anye man

The multitude
of lawyers
superfluous.

can well vnderstande them. Furthermore they vtterlie exclude and banishe all attorneis, proctours, and sergeauntes at the lawe: whiche craftelye handell matters, and subtelly dispute of the lawes. For they thinke it moste meete, that euery man should pleade his own matter, and tel the same tale before the iudge that he wold tell to his man of law. So shal there be lesse circumstance of wordes, and the trueth shall soner come to light, whiles the iudge with a discrete iudgement doeth waye the woordes of him, whom no lawyer hath instructe with deceit, and whiles he helpeth and beareth out simple wittes against the false and malicious circumuentions of craftie children. This is harde to be obserued in other countreis, in so infinitie a number of blinde and intricate lawes. But in Utopia euery man is a cunning lawier. For (as I said) they haue very few lawes: and the plainer and grosser that anye interpretation is:

The intent of
lawes.

that they allowe as most iuste. For all lawes (saie they) be made and publyshed onely to the intente, that by them euery man shoulde be put in remembrance of his dewtie. But the craftye and subtill interpretation of them (forasmuche as few can atteyne thereto) canne put verye fewe in that remembrance, where as the simple, the plaine, and grosse meaninge of the lawes is open to euerye man.

Elles as touchinge the vulgare fort of the people, whiche be bothe mooste in number, and haue moste nede to knowe their dewties, were it not as good for them, that no law were made at all, as when it is made, to bringe so blynde an interpretation vpon it, that

without greate witte and longe arguyng no man can discusse it? To the fyndyng oute whereof neyther the grosse iudgement of the people can attaine, neither the whole life of them that be occupied in woorkinge for their liuynges, canne suffice thereto. These vertues of the Utopians haue caused their nexte neiboures and borderers, whiche liue fre and vnder no subiECTION (for the Utopians longe ago, haue deliuered manye of them from tirannie) to take magistrates of them, some for a yeare, and some for five yeares space. Which when the tyme of their office is expired, they bringe home againe with honoure and praise, and take new againe with them into their countrey. These nations haue vndoubtedlye very well and holfomely prouided for their common wealthes. For seyng that bothe the makinge and marring of the weale publike, doeth depende and hange vpon the maners of the rulers and magistrates, what officers coulde they more wyselye haue chofen, then those which can not be ledde from honestye by bribes (for to them that shortly after shal depart thens into their own countrey money should be vnprofitable) nor yet be moued eyther with fauoure, or malice towards any man, as beyng straungers, and vna[c]quainted with the people? The whiche two vices of affection and auarice, where they take place in iudgementes, incontinente they breake iustice, the strongest and suerest bonde of a common wealth. These peoples whiche fetch their officers and rulers from them, the Utopians cal their fellowes. And othe[r] to whome they haue bene beneficiall, they call their frendes. As touching leagues, which in
Of leagues.
 other places betwene countrey and countrey be so ofte concluded, broken, and renewed, they neuer make none with anie nation. For to what purpose serue leagues, say they? As thoughe nature had not set sufficient loue betwene man and man. And who so regardeth not nature, thinke you that he will passe for wordes? They be brought into this opinion chieflye, because that in those partes of the worlde, leagues be-

twene princes be wont to be kepte and obserued very sklenderly. For here in Europa, and especiallye in these partes where the faith and religion of Christe reigneth, the maiestie of leagues is euerye where esteemed holy and inuiolable: partlie through the iustice and goodnes of princes, and partly at the reuerence and motion of the head Bishops. Which like as they make no promisse themselues, but they do verye religiouslye perfourme the same, so they exhorte all princes in any wise to abide by their promisses, and them that refuse or denye so to do, by their pontificall powre, and authoritie they compell thereto. And surely they thinke well that it might seme a verye reprochfull thing, yf in the leagues of them which by a peculiare name be called faithful, faith should haue no place. But in that newe founde parte of the world, which is scaselielie so farre frome vs beyond the line equinoctiall, as our life and maners be dissident from theirs, no trust nor confidence is in leagues. But the mo and holier ceremonies the league is knitte vp with, the soner it is broken by some cauillation founde in the wordes, which many times of purpose be so craftelie put in, and placed, that the bandes can neuer be so sure nor so stronge, but they will find some hole open to crepe out at, and to breake both league and trueth. The whiche craftye dealing, yea the whiche fraude and deceite, if they should know it to be practised among priuate men in their bargaines and contractes, they would incontinent crie out at it with an open mouth, and a sower countenance, as an offense moste detestable, and worthy to be punnyshed with a shamefull deathe: yea euen verye they that auance themselues authours of lyke counsell geuen to princes. Wherefore it may wel be thought, either that al iustice is but a baffe and a low vertue, and which aualeth it self farre vnder the highe dignitie of kynges: Or at the least wise, that there be two iustices, the one meete for the inferiour sorte of the people, goynge a fote and crespynge lowe by the grounde, and bounde down on euery side

with many bandes, bycause it shall not run atrouers. The other a princelye vertue, which like as it is of much hygher maiestie, then the other pore iustice, so also it is of much more libertie, as to the which nothing is vnlawfull that it lusteth after. These maners of princes (as I said) whiche be there so euell keepers of leagues, cause the Utopians, as I suppose, to make no leagues at al, which perchaunce would chaunge their minde if they liued here. Howbeit they thinke that thoughe leagues be neuer so faithfullye obserued and kepte, yet the custome of makyng leagues was very euell begon. For this causeth men (as though nations which be seperat a sondre, by ye space of a litle hil or a riuer, were coupled together by no societie or bonde of nature) to thinke themselues borne aduersaries and enemies one to an other, and that it were lawfull for the one to seke the death and destruction of the other, if leagues were not: yea, and that after ye leagues be accorded, frendship doth not grow and encrease: But the licence of robbing and stealing doth styll remaine, as farfurth as for lack of foresight and aduifement in writing the wordes of the league, any sentence or clause to the contrarie is not therein sufficientlie comprehended. But they be of a contrarye opinion. That is, that no man oughte to be counted an enemye, whiche hath done no iniurye. And that the felowshippe of nature is a stronge league: and that men be better and more surely knit together by loue and beneuolence, then by couenauntes of leagues: by hartie affection of minde, then by wordes.

Of warfare.



Warre or battel as a thing very beastly, and yet to no kinde of beastes in so muche vse as to man, they do detest and abhorre. And contrarie to the custome almooste of all other nations, they counte nothyng

so muche against glorie, as glory gotten in warre. And therefore thoughte they do daylie practise and exercise themselves in the discipline of warre, and not onelie the men, but also the women vpon certain appointed daies, lest they should be to feke in the feate of armes, if nede should require, yet they neuer go to battell, but either in the defence of their owne countrey, or to driue out of their frendes lande the enemies that haue inuaded it, or by their power to deliuer from the yocke and bondage of tyrannye some people, that be therewith oppressed. Which thing they do of meere pitie and compassion. Howbeit they sende helpe to their frendes, not euer in their defence. But sometymes also to requite and reuenge iniuries before to them done. But this they do not onlesse their counsell and aduise in the matter be asked, whiles it is yet newe and freshe. For if they finde the cause probable, and if the contrarie part wil not restooore agayne suche thynges as be of them iustelye demaunded, then they be the chiefe autours and makers of the warre. Whiche they do not onlie as ofte as by inrodes and inuasions of soldiours praies and booties be driuen awaye, but then also muche more mortally, when their frendes marchauntes in anie lande, either vnder the pretence of vniuste lawes, or elles by the wrestinge and wronge vnderstandinge of good lawes, do susteine an vniust accusation vnder the colour of iustice. Neither the battell whiche the Utopians fought for the Nephelogetes against the Alaopolitanes a litle before oure time was made for any other cause, but that the Nephelogete marchaunt men, as the Utopians thought, suffred wronge of the Alaopolitanes, vnder the pretence of righte. But whether it were righte or wronge, it was with so cruel and mortal warre reuenged, the countreis rounde about ioyninge their helpe and powre to the purfaunce and malice of bothe parties, that moste flourishing and wealthy peoples, being some of them shrewedly shaken, and some of them sharpely beaten, the mischeues wer not finished nor ended, vn-

til the Alaopolitanes, at the last were yelded vp as bondemen into the iurisdiction of the Nephelogetes. For the Utopians fought not this war for themselues. And yet the Nephelogetes before the warre, when the Alaopolitanes flourished in wealth, wer nothing to be compared with them. So egerlye the Utopians prosequete the iniuries done to their frendes: yea, in money matters, and not their owne likewise. For if they by coueyne or gile be wiped beside their goodes, so that no violence be done to their bodies, they wreake their anger by absteininge from occupieng with that nation, vntil they haue made satisfiacion. Not forbicause they set lesse store by their owne citizeins, then by their frendes: but that they take the losse of their frendes money more heuelie then ye losse of their own. Bicause that their frendes marchaunte men, forasmuche as that they leise is their own priuate goods, susteine great dammage by the losse. But their owne citizeyns leise nothing but of the commen goods, and of that whiche was at home plentifull and almost superfluous, els had it not bene sent furth. Therefore no man feleth the losse. And for this cause they thinke it to cruell an acte, to reuenge that losse with the deathe of manie, the incommoditie of the which losse no man feeleth neither in his lyfe, nor yet in his liuing. But if it chaunce that any of their men in any other countrey be maimed or killed, whether it be done by a commen or a priuate counsel, knowyng and trying out the trueth of the matter by their ambassadours, onlesse the offenders be rendered vnto them in recompence of the iniurie, they will not be appeased: but incontinent they proclaime warre against them. The offenders yelded, they punishe either with death, or with bondage. They be not only fory, but also ashamed to atchieue the victorie with bloudshed, counting it greate folie to bie
Victorie deare
bought.
precious wares to dere. They reioyse and
auaunt themselues, if they vanquishe and oppresse their enemies by craft and deceite. And for that act they

make a generall triumph, and as yf the matter were manfullye handeled, they fet vp a pyller of stone in the place where they so vanquished their enemies, in token of the victorie. For then they glorie, then they boaste, and cracke that they haue plaied the men in deede, when they haue so ouercommen, as no other liuing creature but onely man could: that is to saye, by the by the mighte and puifauce of wit. For with bodily strength (say they) beares, lions, boores, wulfes, dogges, and other wild beastes do fight. And as the moſte part of them do paſſe vs in ſtrength and fierce courage, ſo in wit and reaſon we be much ſtronger then they all. Their chief and principall purpoſe in warre, is to obteine that thyng, whiche if they had before obtained, they woulde not haue moued battell. But if that be not poſſible, they take ſo cruell vengeance of them whiche be in the faulte, that euer after they be aferde to do the like. This is their chiefe and principall intent, whiche they immediatlie and firſt of al proſequite, and ſetforwarde. But yet ſo, that they be more circumſpecte, in auoidinge and eſchewynge ieopardies, then they be deſierous of prayſe and renowne. Therefore immediatlye after that warre is ones ſolemnelie denounced, they procure many proclamations ſigned with their owne comen ſeale to be ſet vp priuilie at one time in their enemies lande, in places moſte frequented. In theſe proclamations they promiſſe greate rewardes to hym that will kill their enemies prince, and ſome what leſſe giftes, but them verye greate alſo, for euerye heade of them, whoſe names be in the ſaide proclamations conteyned. They be thoſe whom they count their chiefe aduerſaries, next vnto the prince. Whatſoever is preſcribed vnto him that killeth any of the proclaimed perſons, that is dumbled to him that bringeth anye of the ſame to them alieue: yea, and to the proclaimed perſones themſelues, if they wil chaunge their mindes, and come into them, taking their partes, they profer the ſame greate rewardes with pardone, and ſuertie of their liues. Therefore it quickly commeth to paſſe that their ene-

mies haue all other men in suspicion, and be vnfaithfull, and mistrusting among themselues one to another, liuing in great feare, and in no lesse ieopardie. For it is well knowen, that diuers times the most part of them (and speciallie the prince him selfe) hathe bene betraied of them, in whom they put their moste hope and trust. So that there is no maner of act nor dede that giftes and rewardes do not enforce men vnto. And in rewardes they kepe no measure. But remembring and considering into how great hasarde and ieopardie they cal them, endeuoure themselues to recompence the greatnes of the daunger with like great benefites. And therefore they promise not only wonderful greate abundance of golde, but also landes of greate reuenues lieng in most fatte places among their frendes. And their promisses they perfourme faythfully withoute annye fraude or couyne. This custome of byinge and sellynge aduersaryes among other people is dyfallowed, as a cruel acte of a basse and a cowardyshe mynde. But they in this behalfe thinke themselves muche prayse woorthy, as who lyke wyse men by this meanes dispatche greate warres withoute anny battell or skyrmyshe. Yea they counte it also a dede of pytye and mercye, bicause that by the deathe of a fewe offenders the lyues of a greate numbere of innocentes, aswel of their oune men as also of their enemies be raunfomed and saued, which in fighting shoulde haue bene fleane. For they doo no lesse pytye the basse and common sorte of their enemies people, then they doo their owne: knowing yat they be driuen and enforced to warre againste their willes by the furyous madnes of their princes and heades. Yf by none of these meanes the matter goo forwarde, as they woulde haue it, then they procure occaysons of debate, and dissention to be spredde amonge their enemies. As by bringinge the princes brother, or some of the noble men in hoope to obtayne the kingedome. Yf this way preuayle not, then they reyse vp the people that be nexte neyghbours and borderers to their enemies, and them they

sette in their neckes vnder the coloure of some olde tittle of ryghte, such as kynges doo neuer lacke. To them they promysse their helpe and ayde in their warre. And as for moneye they gyue them abundance. But of their owne cytzeins they sende to them fewe or none. Whome they make so much of, and loue so intierlye, that they would not be willing to change anye of them for their aduerfaries prince. But their gold and siluer, bycause they kepe it all for thys only purpose, they laye it owte frankly and frely: as who shoulde lyue euen as wealthely, if they hadde bestowed it euerye penny. Yea and besydes their ryches, whyche they kepe at home, thei haue also an infinite treasure abrode, by reason that (as I sayde before) manye nations be in their debte. Therefore they hie soldiours oute of all countreis and sende them to battayle, but cheifly of the zapoletes. This people is. 500. myles from Utopia eastwarde. They be hideous, sauage, and fyerce, dwellynge in wild woodes and high mountaines, where they were bredde and brought vp. They be of an harde nature, hable to abide and susteine heate, colde, and labour, abhorrynge from all delicate deintyes, occupyenge no husbandrye nor tyllage of the ground, homelye and rude both in buildinge of their houses and in their apparel, geuen vnto no goodnes, but onely to the breedinge and bringyng vp of cattel. The moste parte of their lyuinge is by huntynge and stealyng. They be borne onelye to warre, whyche they diligentelye and earnestelye seke for. And when they haue gotten it, they be wonders glad thereof. They goo furthe of their countreye in greate companies together, and who soeuer lackethe souldyours, there they proffer their seruice for small wages. This is onelye the crafte they haue to gette their liuyng by. They maynteyne their lyfe, by sekynge their deathe. For them whom wyth they be in wayges they fyghte hardelye, fyerflye, and faythefullye. But they bynde themselves for no certeyne tyme. But vpon this condition they

entre into bondes, that the nexte daye they wyll take parte with the other syde for greater wayges, and the nexte daye after that, they wyll be readye to come backe agayne for a lytle more moneye. There be fewe warres thereawaye, wherein is not a greate numbere of them in bothe partyes. Therefore it dayelye chauncethe that nye kynsefolke whyche were hiered together on one parte, and there verye frendelye and familiarlye vsed themselves one wyth another, shortely after beinge separate in contrarye partes, runne one agaynste another enuyouslye and fyerceleye: and forgettinge bothe kindred and frendeshyppe, thruste their swordes one in another. And that for none other cause, but that they be hyered of contrarye prynces for a lytle moneye. Whyche they doo so hyghlye regarde and esteame, that they will easelye be prouoked to chaunge partes for a halfe-penye more wayges by the daye. So quykelye they haue taken a smacke in couetesen. Whyche for all that is to them no proffyte. For that they gette by fyghtynge, immediatlye they spende vnthryftelye and wretchedlye in ryotte. This people fighteth for the Utopians agaynste all nations, bycause they geue them greater wayges, then annye other nation wyll. For the Utopians lyke as they feke good men to vse wel, so they feke these euell and vicious men to abuse. Whome, when neade requireth, with promisses of greate rewardes they putte forthe into great ieopardyes. From whens the mooste parte of them neuer cummeth againe to aske their rewardes. But to them that remaine aliue they paye yat which they promissed faithfully, that they maye be the more willinge to put themselves in like daunger another time. Nor ye Utopianes passe not how many of them they bring to destruction. For they beleue yat they should doo a verye good deade for all mankind, if they could ridde out of ye worlde all that fowle stinking denne of that most wicked and cursed people. Next vnto thies they vse ye soldiours of them for whom they fighte. And then the helpe of their other frendes. And laste of all, they ioyne to

theire oune citizens. Emong whome they giue to one of tried vertue and prowes the reule, gouernaunce, and conduction of the whole armye. Vnder him they appoynte ij. other, whyche, whyles he is fauffe, be bothe priuate and oute of offyce. But yf he be taken or slayne, the one of the other. ij. succedeth hym, as it were by inherytaunce. And if the seconde miscarrye, then the thirde taketh his rowme, leaste that (as the chaunce of battell is vncerteine and doubtful) the ieopardye or deathe of the capitaine shoulde brynge the whole armye in hasarde. They chuese soldyours out of euery citey those, whych putte furthe themselffes wyllngelye. For they thruste no man forthe into warre agaynste his wyll. Bycause they beleue, yf annye man be fearefull and fainte harted of nature, he wyll not onelye doo no manfull and hardy acte hym felse, but also be occayson of cowardenes to his fellowes. But if annye battell be made agaynste theire owne countreye, then they putt these cowardes (so that they be stronge bodyed) in shyppes amonge other bolde harted men. Or elles they dyspose them vpon the walles, from whens they maye not flye. Thus what for shame that theire enemies be at hande, and what for bycause they be without hope of runninge awaye, they forgette all feere. And manye times extreame necessitey turnethe cowardnes into prowes and manlynes. But as none of them is thrust forthe of his countrey into warre agaynste his wyll, so women that be wyllynge to accompany theire husbandes in times of warre be not prohibited or letted. Yea they prouoke and exhorte them to it with prayfes. And in set fylde the wyues doo stande euerye one by theire owne husbandes fyde. Also euery man is compassed next aboute with his owne children, kinssolkes, and aliaunce. That they, whom nature chiefly moueth to mutual succoure, thus standynge together, maye healpe one another. It is a great reproche, and dishonesty for the husband to come home without his wiffe, or the wyffe withoute her husbände, or the sonne without his father.

And therefore if the other part sicke so harde by it, that the battel come to their handes, it is fought with great slaughter and bloodshed, euen to the vtter destruction of both partes. For as they make all the meanes and shyftes that maye be to kepe themselves from the necessitie of fyghtinge, or that they may dispatche the battell by their hiered soldyours: so when there is no remedy, but that they muste needes fight themselves, they they do as corragiously fall to it, as before, whyles they myght, they did wiselye auoyde and refuse it. Nor they be not most fierce at the first bront. But in continuance by litle and lytle their fierce courage encreaseth, with so stubborne and obstynate myndes, that they wyll rather dye then gyue back an ynche. For that suertye of lyuinge, whiche euerye man hath at home beinge ioyned with noo carefull anxietye or remembraunce how their posteritie shall lyue after them (for his pensifnes oftentimes breakethe and abateth couragious stomakes) maketh them stowte and hardye, and disdaineful to be conquered. Moreouer their knowledge in cheualrye and feates of armes putteth them in a good hope. Finally the wholesome and vertuous opinions, wherin they were brought vp euen from their childhode, partely through learnynge, and partlye through the good ordinaunces and lawes of their weale publique augmente and encrease their manfull courage. By reason whereof they neither set so litle store by their liues, that they will raffhelye and vnduifedlye caste them away: nor they be not so farre in lewde and fond loue therewith, that they will shamefullye couete to kepe them, when honestie biddeth leaue them. When the battel is hottest and in al places most fierce and feruent, a bende of chossen and picked yong men, whiche be sworne to liue and dye together, take vpon them to destroye their aduerfaries capitaine. Whome they inuade now with priuy wieses, now by open strength. At him they strike both nere and farre of. He is assayled with a long and a con-

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tinuall assaulte freshe men styll commynge in the weries mens places. And seldome it chaunceth (onles he he faue hymfelfe by flying) that he is not either slayne, or els taken prisoner, and yelded to his enemies aliue. If they wyne the fyelde, they persecute not their enemies with the violent rage of slaughter. For they had rather take them aliue, then kyl them. Neither they do so follow the chase and pursute of their enemies, but they leaue behinde them one parte of their hoste in battaile arraye vnder their standares. In so muche that if al their whole armie be discumfeted and ouercum fauing the rereuarde, and that they therewith atchieue the victory, then they had rather lette al their enemies scape, then to followe them out of array. For they remembre, it hath chaunced vnto themselves more then ones: the whole powre and strength of their hoste being vanquished and put to flight, whiles their enemies reioysing in the victory haue persecuted them flying some one way and some another, a small companie of their men lying in an ambushe, there redy at all occasions, haue sodainelye ryfen vpon them thus disperfed and scattered oute of arraye, and through presumption of safety vnaduisedly pursuing the chase: and haue incontinent changed the fortune of the whole battayll: and spite of their tethes wrestinge oute of their handes the sure and vndouted victorye, being a litle before conquered, haue for their parte conquered the conquerers. It is hard to say whether they be craftier in layinge an ambushe, or wittier in auoydinge the same. You would thinke they intende to flye, when they meane nothing lesse. And contrarye wyse when they go about that purpose, you wold beleue it were the leaste parte of their thought. For if they perceauē themselves either ouermatched in numbre, or closed in too narrowe a place, then they remoue their campe either in the night season with silence, or by some pollicie they deceaue their enemies, or in the day time they retiere backe so softelye, that it is no lesse ieoperdie to medle with them when they geue backe, then when they preefe on. They fence and

fortifie their campe fewerlye with a deape and a brode trenche. The earth therof is cast inward. Nor they do not fet drudgeis and flaues a worke about it. It is doone by the handes of the fouldiours them felfes. All the whole armye worketh vpon it: excepte them that kepe watche and warde in harneis before the trenche for sodeine auentures. Therefore by the labour of so manye a large trenche closinge in a greate compasse of grounde is made in lesse tyme then anye man woulde beleue. Their armour or harneys, whiche they Their armour. weare, is sure and strong to receaue strokes, and handsome for all mouinges and gestures of the bodye, infomuche that it is not vnweldye to swimme in. For in the discipline of their warefare amonge other feates thei learne to swimme in harnes. Their weapons be arrowes aloufe: whyche they shote both strongly and surelye, not onelye fotemen, but also horsfemen. At hande strokes they vse not swordes but pollaxes, whiche be mortall, aswel in sharpenes, as in weyghte, both for foynes and downe strokes. Engines for warre they deuysse and inuent wonders wittelye. Whiche when they be made they kepe verye secrete, leaste yf they shoulde be knowen before neade requyre, they should be but laughed at and serue to no purpose. Bnt in makynge them hereunto they haue chiefe respecte, that they be both easy to be caried, and handsome to be moued, and turned about. Of truces. Truce taken with their enemies for a shorte time they do so firmlye and faythfullye keape, that they wyll not breake it: no not though they be thereunto prouoked. They doe not waste nor destroye their enemies lande with forraginges, nor they burne not vp their corne. Yea, they saue it as muche as may be from being ouerrunne and troden downe either with men or horses, thinkinge that it growethe for their owne vse and proffit. They hurt no man that is vnarmed, onles he be an espiall. All cities that be yelded vnto them, they defende. And suche as they wynne by force of assaulte, they neither dispoyle nor sacke, but them that withstode and dyssuaded the

yeldynge vp of the same, they put to deathe, the other fouldiours they punnyſhe with bondage. All the weake multitude they leaue vntouched. If they knowe that annye citezeins counſelled to yealde and rendre vp the citie, to them they gyue parte of the condemned mens goods. The reſydewe they diſtribute and giue frelye amonge them, whoſe helpe they had in ſame warre. For none of them ſelfes taketh any portion of the praye. But when the battaile is finiſhed and ended, they put their frendes to neuer a penny coſte of al the charges that they were at, but laye it vpon their neckes that be conquered. Them they burdeine with the whole charge of their expenſeis, whiche they demaunde of them partelye in moneie to be kept for like uſe of battayll, and partelye in landes of greate reuenues to be payde vnto them yearelye for euer. Suche reuenues they haue now in manye countreis. Whiche by litle and litle ryſynge of dyuers and ſondry cauſes be increaſed aboue. vij. [ſeven] hundrethe thouſand ducates by the yere. Thether they ſende forth ſome of their citezeins as Lieuetenauntes, to liue there ſumptuouſly like men of honoure and renowne. And yet this not withſtandynge muche moneye is ſaued, which commeth to the comen treaſory: onles it ſo chaunce, that they had rather truſt ye countrey with the money. Which many times they do ſo long, vntil they haue nede to occupie it. And it ſeldome happeneth, that they demaund al. Of theſe landes they aſſigne parte vnto them, which at their requere and exhortacion put themſelves in ſuch ieopardies, as I ſpake of before. If anye prince ſtirre vp warre agaynſte them, intending to inuade their lande, they mete hym incontinent oute of their owne borders with greate powre and ſtrengthe. For they neuer lyghtely make warre in their owne countrei. Nor they be neuer broughte into ſo extreme neceſſitie as to take
 helpe out of forreyne
 landes into their
 owne Ilande.

Of the religions in Atopia.



Here be diuers kindes of religion not only in sondrie partes of the Ilande, but also in diuers places of euey citie. Some worship for God the sonne: some the mone: some, some other of the planettes.

There be that giue worship to a man that was ones of excellent vertue or of famous glory, not only as God, but also as the chiefeft and hygheft God. But the moſte and the wyfeft parte (reiectyng al theſe) beleue, that there is a certayne Godlie powre vnknown, euerlaſtinge, incomprehenſible, inexplicable, farre aboue the capacitie and retche of mans witte, diſperſed throughout all the worlde, not in bignes, but in vertue and power. Him they call the father of al. To him alone they attribute the beginniges, the encreaſinges, the procedinges, the chaunges, and the endes of al thinges. Neither they geue any diuine honours to any other then to him. Yea al ye other alſo, though they be in diuers opinions, yet in this pointe they agree all together with the wiſeſt forte, in beleuing that there is one chiefe and principall God, the maker and ruler of the whole worlde: whome they all commonlye in their countrey language call Mythra. But in this they diſagree, that among ſome he is counted one, and amonge ſome an other. For euey one of them, whatſoeuer yat is whiche he taketh for the chief god, thinketh it to be the very ſame nature, to whoſe only diuine mighte and maieſtie, the ſumme and ſoueraintie of al thinges by the conſent of al people is attributed and geuen. Howbeit they all begyn by litle and litle to forſake and fall from this varietie of ſuperſtitions, and to agre together in that religion whiche ſemethe by reaſon to paſſe and excell the reſidewe. And it is not to be doubted, but all the other would long agoo haue bene abolifhed, but that whatſoeuer vnproſperous thyng happened to anie of

them, as he was mynded to chaunge his religion, the fearefulnesse of people did take it, not as a thinge comminge by chaunce, but as sente from GOD out of heauen. As thoughe the God, whose honoure he was forsakynge, woulde reuenge that wicked purpose against him. But after they hearde vs speake of the name of Christe, of his doctrine, lawes, myracles, and of thee no lesse wonderful constancie of so manye martyrs, whose bloude wyllinglye shedde broughte a great nombre of nations throughoute all partes of the worlde into their sect: you will not beleue with howe gladde mindes, they agreed vnto the same: whether it were by the secrete inspiration of GOD, or elles for that they thought it nieghest vnto that opinion, which among them is counted the chieftest. Howbeit I thinke this was no smale helpe and furtheraunce in the matter, that they harde vs say, that Christe instituted among his, al thinges commen: and that the same Religious hou- communitie doth yet remaine amongest the
ses. rightest Christian companies. Verely how-
foeuer it came to passe, manye of them consented together in our religion, and were wasshed in ye holy water of baptisme. But because among vs foure (for no mo of vs was left a liue, two of our companie beyng dead) there was no priest, which I am right sorie for: they beyng entered and instructed in al other pointes of our religion, lacke only those sacramentes, whiche here none but priestes do minister. Howbeit they vnderstand and perceiue them, and be very desierous of ye same. Yea, they reason and dispute ye matter earnestly among themselues, whether without ye sending of a christian bishop, one chofen out of their own people may receaue the ordre of priesthod. And truely they were minded to chuese one. But at my departure from them they had chofen none. They also which do not agree to Christes religion, feare no man from it, nor speake against any man that hath receiued it. Sauing that one of our company in my presence was sharply punished. He as soone as he

was baptised, began against our willes, with more earnest affection, then wisdom, to reason of Christes religion: and began to waxe so hote in his matter, that he did not onely preferre our religion before al other, but also did vtterly despise and condempne all other, calling them prophane, and the folowers of them wicked and deuellish, and the children of euerlastinge dampnation. When he had thus longe reasoned the matter, they laide holde on him, accused him, and condempned him into exile, not as a despiser of religion, but as a sedicious person, and a raiser vp of diffention amonge the people. For this is one of the auncientest lawes amonge them: that no man shall be blamed for resoninge in the maintenaunce of his owne religion. For kyng Utopus, euen at the firste beginning, hearing yat the inhabitauntes of the land wer before his comming thether, at continuall diffention and strife amonge themselues for their religions: perceyuing also that this common diffention (whiles euery seuerall secte tooke seuerall partes in fighting for their country) was the only occasion of his conquest ouer them al, assone as he had gotten the victory: Firste of all he made a decree, that it should be lawfull for euerie man to fauoure and folow what religion he would, and that he mighte do the best he could to bring other to his opinion, so that he did it peaceable, gentelie, quietly, and soberlie, without hastie and contentious rebuking and inuehing against other. If he could not by faire and gentle speche induce them vnto his opinion yet he should vse no kinde of violence, and refraine from displeasaunte and seditious woordes. To him that would vehemently and feruentlye in this cause striue and contende was decreed, banishment or bondage. This lawe did kynge Utopus make not only for the maintenaunce of peace, which he saw through continuall contention and mortal hatred vtterly extinguished: but also because he thought this decree should make for the furtheraunce of religion. Wherof he durst define and determine nothing vnad-

Sedicious reasoners punished.

uifedlie, as douting whether god defering manifolde and diuerse fortes of honour, would inspire fondry men with fondrie kindes of religion, And this fuerly he thought a very vnmete and folish thing, and a point of arrogant presumption, to compell all other by violence and threateninges to agre to the same, that thou beleuest to be trew. Furthermore thoughe there be one religion, whiche alone is trew, and al other vaine and superstitious, yet did he wel foresee (so that the matter were handeled with reason, and sober modestie) that the trueth of the own powre would at the last issue out and come to lyghte. But if contention and debate in that behalfe should continuallye be vsed, as the woorste men bemooste obstinate and stubbourne, and in their euyll opinion mooste constante: he perceaued that then the beste and holiest religion woulde be troden vnderfote and destroyed by most vaine superstitions, euen as good corne is by thornes and weedes ouergrown and chooked. Therefore all this matter he leste vndiscussed, and gaue to euerye man free libertie and choise to beleue what he woulde. Sauinge that he earnestelye and straitelye charged them, that no man should conceaue so vile and baase an opinion of the dignitie of mans nature, as to think that the foules do die and perishe with the bodye: or that the world runneth at al auentures gouerned by no diuine prouidence. And therefore thei beleue that after this life vices be extreamelye punished and vertues bountifully rewarded. Hym that is of a contrary opinion they counte not in the nombre of men, as one that hath aualed the heighe nature of hys soule to the vielnes of brute beastes bodies: muche lesse in the nombre of their citziens, whose lawes and ordenaunces, if it were not for feare, he wold nothing at al esteeme. For you maye be fuer that he will studie either with craft priuely to mocke, or els violently to breake the commen lawes of his countrey, in whom remaineth no further feare then of the lawes, nor no further hope then of the

No vile opini-
on to be con-
ceaued of mans
worthy nature.

bodye. Wherefore he that is thus minded is deprived of all honours, excluded from all common administrations in the weale publique. And thus he is of all fortes despised, as of an vnprofitable, and of a base and vile nature. Howbeit they put him to no punishment, because they be persuaded, that it is in no mans power to beleue what he list. No nor they constraîne hym not with threatninges to dissemble his minde, and shew countenance contrarie to his thought. For deceit and falshod and all maners of lies, as nexte vnto fraude, they do maruelouffie deteste and abhorre. But they suffer him not to dispute in his opinion, and that onelye amonge the comen people. For els aparte amonge the priestes and men of grautie they do not onelye suffer, but also exhorte him to dispute and argue: hoping that at the last, that madnes will geue place to reason. There be also other, and of them no small numbere, which be not forbidden to speake theyr mindes, as grounding their opinion vpon some reason, beyng in their liuing neither euell nor vicious. Their heresie is much contrarie to the other. For they beleue that the soules of brute beastes be immortall and euerlasting. But nothyng to be compared with oures in dignitie, neither ordeined nor predestinate to like felicitie. For al they beleue certainly and sewerly that mans bleffe shal be so great, that they do mourne and lament euery mans sicknes, but no mans death-ones it be one whome they see depart from his life carefullie, and agaynst his will. For this they take for a verye euell token, as thoughe the soule beyng in dispaire, and vexed in conscience, through some priuie and secret forefeiling of the punishment now at hande were aferde to depart. And they thinke he shall not be welcome to God, which when he is called, runneth not to him gladlye, but is drawn by force and fore against his will. They therefore that see this kinde of death, do abhorre it,

Irreligious
people seclu-
ded from all
honours.

A very straung
sayenge.

Deceit and fals-
hod detested.

A maruelous
straunge opi-
nion touching
the soules of
brute beastes.

To die vnwil-
lyngly an euell
token.

and them that fo die, they burie with forow and filence. And when they haue praied God to be mercifull to the foule, and mercifully to pardon the infirmities therof, they couer the dead coorfe with earth. Contrariewife all that departe merely and full of good hope, for them no man mourneth, but followeth the heerfe with ioyfull fyinging, commend-
 ing the foules to God with great affection. And at the laft, not with mourning sorrow, but with a great reuerence they bourne the bodies. And in the fame place they fette vp a pillar of ftone, with the dead mans titles therin graued. When they be come home they reherfe his vertuous maners and his good dedes. But no part of his life is fo oft or gladly talked of, as his meri-
 deth. They thinke that this remembraunce of the vertue and goodnes of the dead doeth vehemently pro-
 uoke and enforce the liuing to vertue. And that nothing can be more pleafaunt and acceptable to the deade. Whom they fuppoſe to be preſent among them, when they talke of them, though to the dull and feble eieſight of mortall men they be inuiſible. For it were an vnconuenient thinge, that the bleſſed ſhoulde not be at libertie to goo whether they woulde. And it were a pointe of greate vnkindnes in them to haue vtterly caſt away the deſire of viſitinge and ſeing their frendes, to whome they were in their life time ioyned by mutuall loue and amitie. Whiche in good men after their deathe they counte to be rather increaſed then diminished. They beleue therefore that the deade be preſentlye conuerſant amonge the quicke, as beholders and witneſſes of all their wordes and dedes. Therefore they go more corragiouſly to their buſines as hauing a truſt and affiaunce in ſuch ouerſeers. And this ſame beleſe of the preſent conuerſation of their forefathers and aunce-
 tours among them, feareth them from all ſecrete diſhoneſtie. They vtterly deſpiſe and mocke ſothſayings and diuinations of things to come by the flighte or voices of birdes, and

A willing and
 a merye deathe
 not to be lamen-
 ted.

Sothſayers
 not regarded
 nor credited.

all other diuinations of vaine superstition, whiche in other countreis be in greate obseruation. But they highly esteeme and worshyppe miracles that come by no healpe of nature, as woorkes and witnesses of the presente power of God. And suche they saye do chaunce there verye often. And sometemes in great and doubtfull matters, by commen intercession and prayers, they procure and obtaine them with a sure hope and confidence, and a steadfast belefe.

Miracles.

The life contemplatiue.

They thinke that the contemplation of nature, and the prayse thereof comminge, is to God a very acceptable honoure. Yet there be many so earnestly bent and affectioned to religion, that they passe no thing for lerning, nor geue their mindes to any knowledge of thinges. But ydelnes they vtterly forsake and eschue, thinking felicitie after this life to be gotten and obtained by busie labors and good exercises. Some therfore of them attende vpon the sicke, some amende high waies, clenfe ditches, reparaire bridges, digge turfes, grauell, and stoness, fel and cleaue wood, bring wood, corne and other thinges into the cities in cartes, and serue not onely in commen woorkes, but also in priuate laboures as seruantes, yea, more then bondmen. For what so euer vnpleasaunt, harde, and vile worke is anye where, from the whiche labour, lothsomnes, and desperation doth fray other, al that they take vpon them willingly and gladly, procuring quiete and rest to other, remaininge in continual worke and labour themselues, not embraidinge others therewith. They neither reprove other mens liues, nor glorie in their owne. These men the more seruiceable they behaue themselues, the more they be honoured of all men. Yet they be diuided into two sectes. The one is of them that liue single and chaste, absteyning not onely from the companie of women, but also from eating of fleshe, and some of them from all maner of beastes. Whiche vtterly reiecting the pleasures of this present life as hurtfull, be all wholye set vpon the desier of the lyfe to come by watchynge, and sweatyng, hoop-

The life actiue.

inge shortly to obtaine it, being in the meane season merie and lustie. The other secte is no lesse desirous of labour, but they embrace matrimonye, not despisinge the solace therof, thinking that they can not be discharged of their bounden duties towards nature without labour and toyle, nor towards their native countrey without procreation of children. They abstaine from no pleasure that doeth nothinge hinder them from labour. They loue the flesh of foure footed beastes, bicause they beleue that by yat meate they be made hardier and stronger to woorke.

It is not all one to be wise and good. The Utopians counte this secte the wiser, but the other the holier. Which in that they preferre single life before matrimony, and that sharp life before an easier life, if herein they grounded vpon reason they would mock them. But now forasmuch as they say they be led to it by religion, they honor and worship them. And these be they whom in their language by a peculiar name, they cal Buthrefcas, the which woord by interpretation signifieth to vs men of religion or religious men. They haue priestes of exceeding holines, and therefore very few.

Priestes. For there be but xiiij. in euery citie accordinge to the number of their churches, sauynge when they go furthe to battell. For than. vij. of them goo furth with the armie: in whose steades so manie newe be made at home. But the other at their retourne home again reentre euery one into his owne place, they that be aboute the numbre, vntill suche time as they succede into the places of the other at their dyinge, be in the meane season continuallie in companie with the bishoppe. For he is the chiefe heade of them al. They be chosen of the people, as the other magistrates be by secrete voices for the auoydinge of strife. After their election they be consecrate of their own companie. They be ouerseers of al diuine matters, orderers of religions, and as it wer iudges and maisters of maners. And it is a great dishonestie and shame to be rebuked or spoken to by any of them for dissolute and incont-

ent liuing. But as it is their office to geue good exhortations and counfel, fo is it ye dutie of the prince and the other magistrates to correct and punifhe offenders, fauing that the priestes, whome they find exceeding vicious liuers, them they excommunicate from hauing anye intereft in diuine matters. And there is almoſte no puniſhement amonge them more feared. For they runne in verye great infamie, and be inwardly tormented with a ſecret feare of religion, and ſhall not long ſcape free with their bodies. For vnleſſe they by quicke repentaunce approve the amendement of their liues to the priestes, they be taken and puniſhed of the counfel, as wicked and irreligious. Both childhode and youth is instructed, and taught of them. Nor they be not more diligente to instructe them in learning, then in vertue and good maners. For they vſe with verie great endeouour and diligence to put into the heades of their children, whiles they be yet tender and pliaunte, good opinions and profitable for the conſeruation of their weale publique. Which when they be once rooted in children, do remayne with them al their life after, and be wonders profitable for the defence and maintenaunce of the ſtate of the commenwelth. Whiche neuer decaieſh but throughe vices riſing of euill opinions. The priestes, onles they be women (for that kinde is not excluded from priethoode, howbeit fewe be choſen, and none but widdowes and old women) the men priestes, I ſaye, take to their wiſes the chiefeſt women in all their countreye. For to no office among the Utopians is more honour and preeminence geuen. In ſo much that if they commit any offence, they be vnder no commen iudgement, but be left only to god and themſelves. For thei thinke it not lawful to touch him with mannes hande, be he neuer ſo vitious, which after ſo ſingular a ſort was dedicate and conſecrate to god, as a holly offering. This maner may they eaſelye obſerue, bicauſe they haue ſo fewe priestes, and do chuſe them with ſuch circumſpec-

Excommunication.

Women priestes.

The maiestie and preeminence of priestes.

tion. For it scasely euer chaunceth, that the moſte vertuous amonge vertuous, which in reſpect only of his vertue is auanced to ſo high a dignity, can fal to vice and wickednes. And if it ſhould chaunce in dede (as mans nature is mutable and fraile) yet by reaſon they be ſo fewe, and promoted to no might nor powre, but only to honoure, it were not to be feared yat anye great dammage by them ſhould happen and enſue to the comen wealthe. They haue ſo rare and fewe prieſtes, leaſt if the honoure were communicated to many, ye digniti of the ordre, which among them now is ſo highly eſtemed, ſhould rune in contempt. Speciallye bicauſe they thincke it hard to find many ſo good, as to be meet for that dignity, to the execution and diſcharge whereof it is not ſufficiente to be endued with meane vertues. Furthermore theſe prieſtes be not more eſtemed of their owne countrey men, then they be of forrein and ſtraunge countreis. Which thinge maye hereby plainly appere. And I thinke alſo yat this is the cauſe of it. For whiles ye armies be fighting together in open feld they a litle beſide not farre of knele vpon their knees in their hallowed veſtimentes, holding vp their handes to heauen: praing firſt of all for peace, nexte for vyc-tory of their owne parte, but to neyther part a bluddy victory. If their hoſt gette the vpper hand, they runne in to the mayne battayle, and reſtrayne their owne men from ſleying and cruelly purſuinge their vanquyſhed enemies. Whyche enemyes, yf they doo but ſee them and ſpeake to them, it is ynoughe for the ſauegarde of their lyues. And the touching of their clothes defendeth and ſaueth al their gooddes from rauine and ſpoyle. This thinge hathe auanced them to ſo greate wourſhip and trewe maieſty among al nations, that manye times they haue aſwel preferued their own citizens from ye cruel force of their enemies, as they haue their enemies from the furyous rage of their owne men. For it is well knowen, that when their owne army hathe reculed, and in dyſpayre turned backe, and runne away, their ennemies fyerslye purſuing

with slaughter and spoyle, then the priettes cumming betwene haue stayed the murder, and parted bothe the hostes. So that peace hath bene made and concluded betwene bothe partes vpon equall and indifferent conditions. For there was neuer any nation, so fierce, so cruell, and rude, but they hadde them in fuche reuerence, that they counted their bodyes hallowed and sanctified, and therefore not to be violently and vnreuerentlye touched.

They kepe hollye the firste and the laste daye of euery moneth and yeare, diuydinge the

The obserua-
cion of holy
daies amonge
the Utopians

yeare into monethes, whyche they measure by the course of the moone, as they doo the yeare by the course of the sonne. The fyrste dayes they call in their language Lynemernes, and the laste Trapemernes, the whyche woordes may be interpreted, primifeste and finifest, or els in our speache, first feaste and last feast. Their churches be

Their churches

verye gorgious, and not onelye of fine and curious workemanship, but also (which in the fewenes of them was necessary) very wide and large, and hable to receaue a great company of people. But they be al sumwhat darke. Howbeit that was not donne through ignoraunce in buildinge, but as they say, by the counsel of the priestes.

Churches of
dimme light
and a reason
why

Bicause they thought that ouer much light doth disperse mens cogitations, whereas in dimme and doubtful lighte they be gathered together, and more earnestly fixed vpon religion and deuotion: which bicause it is not there of one sort among all men, and yet all the kindes and fassions of it, though they be sondry and manifold, agre together in the honour of the diuine nature, as goyng diuers wayes to one ende: therefore nothing is sene nor heard in ye churches, but that semeth to agre indifferently with them all. If there be a distinct kind of sacrifice peculiar to anye feual secte, that they execute at home in their owne houses. The common sacrifices be so ordered, that they be no derogation nor preiudice to anye of the priuate sacrifices and religions. Therefore no ymage of annye god is seene in

the church, to the intente it maye bee free for euery man to conceiue god by their religion after what likenes and similitude they will. They call vpon no peculiar name of god, but only Mithra In the which word they all agree together in one nature of the diuine maiefti whatfoeuer it be. No prayers bee vsed but suche as euerye man maye boldelie pronounce withoute the offendinge of anny secte. They come therefore to the church, the laste day of euerye moneth and yeare in the euenynge yet fastinge, there to gyue thanks to GOD for that they haue prosperouslye passed ouer the yeare or monethe, wherof that hollye daye is the laste daye. The nexte daye they come to the church earlye in the mornynge, to praye to GOD that they maye haue good fortune and successe all the newe yeare or monethe whych they doo begynne of that fame hollye daye. But in the hollye dayes that be the laste dayes of the monethes and yeares, before they come to the church, the wiues fall downe prostrat before their husbandes

The confessi-
on of the Uto-
pians.

feet at home, and the children before the feete of their parentes, confessinge and acknowledginge themselves offenders either by some actuall dede, or by omiffion of their deuty, and desire pardon for their offense. Thus yf anye cloude of priuy displeasure was risen at home, by this satisfaction it is ouerblowen, that they may be presente at the sacrifices with pure and charitable mindes. For they be aferd to come there with troubled consciences. Therefore if they knowe themselves to beare anye hatred or grudge towardes anye man, they presume not to come to ye sacrifices, before they haue reconciled themselves and purged their consciences, for feare of greate vengeaunce and punyshmente for their offense. When they come thether, the men goo into

An order for
places in the
Church.

the ryghte syde of the church, and the women into the lefte syde. There they place themselves in suche ordre, that all they whyche be of the male kinde in euery household sitte before the goodman of ye house, and they of the female

kinde before the goodwyfe. Thus it is forfene that all their gestures and behauiours be marked and obserued abrode of them by whose authority and discipline they be gouerned at home. This also they diligently see vnto, that the younger euermore be coupled with his elder, lest children beinge ioyned together, they should passe ouer yat time in childish wantonnes, wherin they ought principally to conceaue a religious and deuoute feare towards god : which is the chiefe and almost ye only incitation to vertu. They kill no liuing beast in sacrifice, nor they thinke not that the merciful clemencie of god hath delite in bloude and slaughter, which hath geuen liffe to beastes to the intent they should liue. They burne frank-
Ceremonies.
kenfence, and other sweet fauours, and light also a greate nombre of waxe candelles and tapers, not supposinge this geare to be any thing auaylable to the diuine nature, as neither ye prayers of men. But this vnhurtful and harmeles kind of worship pleaseth them. And by thies sweet faoures and lightes, and other such ceremonies men feele themselves secretlye lifted vp, and encouraged to deuotion with more willynge and feruent hartes. The people weareth in the churche white apparell, The priest is clothed in changeable colours. Whiche in workemanship be excellent, but in stufte not verye pretious. For their vestimentes be neither embraudered with gold, nor set with precious stones. But they be wrought so fynely and conningelye with diuers fethers of foules, that the estimation of no costely stufte is hable to counteruaile the price of the worke. Furthermore in these birdes fethers, and in the dewe ordre of them, whiche is obserued in their setting, they saye, is conteyned certaine diuine misteries. The interpretation whereof knowen, whiche is diligently taught by the priestes, they be put in remembraunce of the bountifull benefites of God towarde them : and of the loue and honoure whiche of their behalfe is dewe to God : and also of their duties one towarde another. When the priest first

commeth out of the vestry thus apparelled, they fall downe incontinent euerye one reuerentlye to the ground, with so still silence on euerye part, that the very fassion of the thinge striketh into them a certayne feare of God, as though he were there personally presente. When they haue lien a litle space on the ground, the priest geueth them a signe for to ryse. Then they sing prayfes vnto God, whiche they intermixt with in-

Theire churche
musike.

strumentes of musicke, for the moste parte of other fassions then these that we vse in this parte of the worlde. And like as some of ours bee muche sweter then theirs, so some of theirs doo farre passe ours. But in one thinge doubtles they goo exceeding farre beyonde vs. For all their musike bothe that they playe vpon instrumentes, and that they singe with mannes voyce dothe so refemble and expresse naturall affections, the sound and tune is so applied and made agreable to the thinge, that whether it bee a prayer, or els a dytty of gladnes, of patience, of trouble, of mournynge, or of anger; the fassion of the melodye dothe so represente the meaning of the thing, that it doth wonderfullye moue, stirre, pearce, and enflame the hearers myndes. At the laste the people and the priest together rehearse solempne prayers in

Prayers.

woordes, expreslye pronounced, so made that euerye man maye priuatelye applye to hymselfe that which is commonlye spoken of all. In these prayers euerye man recognifethe and knowledgethe God to be hys maker, hys gouernoure, and the principal cause of all other goodnes, thankynge him for so many benefites receaued at his hande. But namelye that throughe the fauoure of God he hath chaunced into that publyque weale, whiche is moste happye and welthye, and hath chosen that religion, whyche he hopeth to be moste true. In the whyche thinge if he doo anye thinge erre, or yf there be any other better then eyther of them is, being more acceptable to God, he desierethe him that he wyl of his goodnes let him haue knowledge thereof, as one that

is ready too followe what way foeuer he wyll leade hym. But yf this fourme and fassion of a commen wealthe bee beste, and his owne relygion most true and perfecte, then he desyrethe GOD to gyue hym a constaunte stedefastnes in the same, and too brynge all other people to the same ordre of lyuyng, and to the same opinion of God onles there bee annye thinge that in this diuersitye of religions dothe delite his vnfercheable pleasure. To be shorte he prayeth hym, that after his deathe he maye come to hym. But how soone or late that he dare not affynge or determine. Howebeit, if it myght stande with his maiesties pleasure, he woulde be muche gladder to dye a paynefull deathe and so to goo to God, then by longe lyuing in worldlye prosperitye to bee awaye from him. Whan this prayer is said they fal doune to the ground again and a lytle after they ryse vp and go to dinner. And the refydewe of the daye they passe ouer in playes, and exercise of cheualrye.

Nowe I haue declared and described vnto you, as truely as I coulde the fourme and ordre of that commen wealth, which verely in my iudgment is not only the beste, but also that which alone of good right maye claime and take vpon it the name of a commen wealth or publique weale. For in other places they speake stil of the commen wealth. But euery man procureth his owne priuate gaine. Here where nothinge is priuate, the commen affaires bee earnestlye loked vpon. And truely on both partes they haue good cause so to do as they do. For in other countreys who knoweth not that he shall sterue for hunger, onles he make some seuerall prouision for himselfe, though the commen wealthe floryshe neuer so muche in ryches? And therefore he is compelled euen of verye necessitie to haue regarde to him selfe, rather then to the people, that is to saye, to other. Contrarywyse there where all thinges be commen to euery man, it is not to be doubted that any man shal lacke anye thinge necessary for his priuate vses: so that the commen store houses and bernes be sufficientlye stored.

For there nothinge is distributed after a nyggyshe forte, neither there is anye poore man or begger. And thoughte no man haue anye thinge, yet euerye man is ryche. For what can be more riche, then to lyue ioyfully and merely, without al grieffe and pensifenes: Not caring for his owne lyuing, nor vexed or troubled with his wifes importunate complayntes, nor dreadynge pouertie to his sonne, nor sorrowyng for his daughters dowrey? Yea they take no care at all for the lyuing and wealthe of themselves and al theirs, of their wyfes, their chylde, their nephewes, their childrens chylde, and all the succession that euer shall followe in their posteritie. And yet besydes this there is no lesse prouision for them that were ones labourers, and be nowe weake and impotent, then for them that do nowe labour and take payne. Here nowe woulde I see, yf anye man dare bee so bolde as to compare with this equitye, the iustice of other nations. Among whom, I forsake God, if I can fynde any signe or token of equitye and iustice. For what iustice is this, that a ryche goldefmythe, or an vsurer, or to bee shorte anye of them, which either doo nothing at all, or els that whyche they doo is such, that it is not very necessary to the common wealth, should haue a pleasaunte and a welthie lyuinge, either by Idlenes, or by vnecessary busines: When in the meane tyme poore labourers, carters, yronfmythes, carpenters, and plowmen, by so greate and continual toyle, as drawing and bearyng beasts be skant hable to susteine, and againe so necessary toyle, that without it no common wealth were hable to continewe and endure one yere, should yet get so harde and poore a lyuing, and lyue so wretched and miserable a lyfe, that the state and condition of the labouring beasts maye seme muche better and welthier? For they be not put to soo continuall labour, nor their lyuinge is not muche worfe, yea to them muche pleasaunter, takynge no thoughte in the meane season for the tyme to come. But these feilye poore wretches be presently tormented

with barreyne and vnfrutefull labour. And the remembrance of their poore indigent and beggerlye olde age killeth them vp. For their dayly wages is so lytle, that it will not suffice for the same daye, muche lesse it yeldeth any ouerplus, that may daylye be layde vp for the relyefe of olde age. Is not this an vniust and an vnkynde publyque weale, whyche gyueth great fees and rewardes to gentlemen, as they call them, and to goldfmythes, and to suche other, whiche be either ydle perfones, or els onlye flatterers, and deuysers of vayne pleasures: And of the contrary parte maketh no gentle prouision for poore plowmen, coliaris, laborers, carters, yronfmythes, and carpenters: without whome no commen wealth can continewe? But after it hath abused the labours of their lusty and flowring age, at the laste when they be oppressed with olde age and fyckenes: being nedye, poore, and indigent of all thinges, then forgettyng their so manye paynefull watchinges, not remembring their so manye and so greate benefites, recompenseth and acquyteth them mooste vnkyndly with myserable death. And yet besides this the riche men not only by priuate fraud, but also by commen lawes do euery day pluck and snatche away from the poore some parte of their daily liuing. So where as it seemed before vniuste to recompense with vnkindnes their paynes that haue bene beneficiall to the publyque weale; nowe they haue to this their wrong and vniuste dealinge (which is yet a muche worse pointe) geuen the name of iustice, yea and that by force of a law. Therefore when I consider and way in my mind all these commen wealthes, which now a dayes any where do flourish, so god helpe me, I can perceauie nothing but a certain conspiracy of riche men procuringe their owne commodities vnder the name and title of the commen wealth. They inuent and deuise all meanes and craftes, first how to kepe safely, without feare of lesing, that they haue vniustly gathered together, and next how to hire and abuse the worke and labour of the poore for as litle money as may be. These deuises, when the

riche men haue decreed to be kept and obserued vnder coloure of the comminaltie, that is to saye, also of the pore people, then they be made lawes. But these most wicked and vicious men, when they haue by their vnfatigable couetousnes deuided among them selues al those thinges, whiche woulde haue sufficed all men, yet how farre be they from the wealth and felicitie of the Utopian commen wealth? Out of the which, Contempte of Money. in that all the desire of money with the vse thereof is vtterly secluded and banished, howe greate a heape of cares is cut away? How great an occasion of wickednes and mischief is plucked vp by ye rotes? For who knoweth not, that fraud, theft, rauine, brauling, quarelling, brabbling, striffe, chiding, contention, murder, treason, poisoning, which by daily punishmentes are rather reuenged then refrained, do dye when money dieth. And also that feare, grieffe, care, laboures, and watchinges do perish euen the very same moment that money perisheth? Yea pouerty it selfe, which only femed to lacke money, if money were gone, it also would decrease and vanishe away. And that you may perceauē this more plainly, consider with your selves some barein and vnfrutefull yeare, wherin manye thousandes of people haue starued for honger: I dare be bolde to say, yat in the end of that penury so much corne or grain might haue bene found in the rich mens bernes, if they had bene searched, as being diuided among them whome famine and pestilence then consumed, no man at al should haue felt that plague and penuri. So easely might men gette their liuing, if that same worthy princeesse lady money did not alone stop vp the way betwene vs and our lyuing, which a goddes name was very excellently deuised and inuented, that by her the way therto should be opened. I am fewer the ryche men perceauē this, nor they be not ignoraunte how much better it were too lacke noo necessarye thing, then to abunde with ouermuche superfluite: to be ryd oute of innumerable cares and troubles, then to be be-

feigned and encombred with great ryches. And I dowte
 not that either the respecte of euery mans priuate com-
 moditie, or els the authority of oure sauoure Christe
 (which for his great wisdom could not but know what
 were best, and for his inestimable goodnes could not
 but counsel to that which he knew to be best) wold haue
 brought all the worlde longe agoo into the lawes of this weale publike, if it wer not yat
 one only beast, ye princeesse and mother of all mischiefe
 Pride, doth withstande and let it. She
 measurethe not wealth and prosperity by
 her owne commodities, but by the miserie and incom-
 modities of other, she would not by her good will be
 made a goddesse, yf there were no wretches left, ouer
 whom she might like a scorneful ladie rule and triumph,
 ouer whose miseries her felicities mighte shyne, whose
 pouertie she myghte vexe, tormente, and encrease by
 gorgiouslye fettyng furthe her richesse. Thys hell
 hounde creapeth into mens hartes: and plucketh them
 backe from entering the right pathe of life, and is so
 depely roted in mens brestes, that she can not be pluc-
 ked out. This fourme and fashon of a weale publike,
 which I would gladly wish vnto al nations: I am glad
 yet that it hath chaunced to the Utopians, which haue
 folowed those institutons of life, whereby they haue
 laid such foundations of their common wealth, as shal
 continew and last not only wealthely, but also as far as
 mans wit may iudge and coniecture, shall endure for
 euer. For, feyng the chiefe causes of ambition and se-
 dition, with other vices be plucked vp by the rootes,
 and abandoned at home, there can be no ieopardie of
 domesticall dissention, whiche alone hathe caste vnder
 foote and brought to noughte the well fort[i]fied and
 stronglie defenced wealthe and riches of many cities.
 But forasmuch as perfect concorde remaineth, and
 wholfome lawes be executed at home, the enuie of al
 forein princes be not hable to shake or moue the em-
 pire, though they haue many tymes long ago gone about
 to do it, beyng euermore driuen backe.

Thus when Raphaell hadde made an ende of his tale, though many thinges came to my mind, which in the maners and lawes of that people semed to be instituted and founded of no good reason, not onely in the fashion of their cheualry, and in their sacrifices and religions, and in other of their lawes, but also, yea and chiefly, in that which is the principal foundation of al their ordinances, that is to say, in the communitie of their life and liuyng, withoute anye occupieng of money, by the whiche thinge onelye all nobilitie, magnificence, wourshippe, honour, and maiestie, the true ornamentes and honoures, as the common opinion is, of a common wealth, vtterlye be ouerthrowen and destroyed: yet because I knew that he was wery of talking, and was not sure whether he coulde abyde that anye thyng shoulde be sayde againste hys mynde: speciallye remembryng that he had reprehended this faulte in other, which be aferde lest they shoulde seme not to be wise enough, onles they could find some fault in other mens inuentions: therfore I praising both their institutions and hys communication, toke him by the hand, and led him into supper: sayng that we woulde chuese an other time to waye and examine the same matters, and to talke with him moore at large therin. Whiche woulde God it might ones come to passe. In the meane time as I can not agree and consent to all thinges that he saide, beyng els without doubt a man singularly well learned, and also in all worldelye matters exactly and profoundly experienced: so must I nedes confesse and graunt that many thinges be in the Utopian weale publique, whiche in our cities I maye rather wishe for, then hope after.

¶ Thus endeth the afternoones talke of Raphael Hythlodaye concerning the lawes and institutions of the Ilande of Utopia.

I To the right honourable Hierome Buslyde, prouost Arienn, and counselloure to the catholike kinge Charles, Peter Gyles, Citizein of Antwerpe, wisheth health and felicitie.



Thomas More the singular ornamente of this our age, as you your self (right honourable Buslyde) can witnessse, to whome he is perfectly wel knownen, sent vnto me this other day the ylande of Utopia, to very few as yet knownen, but most worthy, which as farre excellling Platoes commen wealthe, all people shoulde be willinge to know: specially of a man most eloquent so finely fet furth, so conningly painted out, and so evidently subiect to the eye, that as oft as I reade it, me thinketh that I see somewhat more, then when I heard Raphael Hythloday himselfe (for I was present at that talke aswell as master More) vtteryng and pronouncing his owne woordes: Yea, though the same man, accordinge to his pure eloquence, did so open and declare the matter, that he might plainly enough appeare, to reporte not thinges, which he had learned of others onelye by hearefay, but which he had with his own eyes presently sene, and throughly vewed, and wherin he had no smal time bene conuersant and abiding: a man trulie, in mine opinion, as touching the knowledge of regions, peoples, and worldly experience, muche passinge, yea euen they very famous and renommed trauailer Vlyffes: and in dede suche a one, as for the space of these viij. c. [eight hundred] yeres past I think nature into the worlde brought not furth his like: in comparison of whome Vespuce maye be thought to haue sene nothing. Moreouer, wheras we be wont more effectually and pitthely to declare and expresse thinges that we haue sene, then whiche we haue but onelye hearde, there was besides that in this man a certen peculiar grace, and singular dexteritie to discriue and fet furth a matter withall. Yet the selfe same thinges as ofte as I beholde and con-

ſider them drawn and painted oute with maſter Morea
 penſille, I am therewith ſo moued, ſo delited, ſo inflamed,
 and ſo rapt, that ſometime me think I am preſently
 conuerſaunt, euen in the ylande of Utopia. And I pro-
 miſe you, I can ſkante beleue that Raphael himſelfe by
 al that ſiue yeres ſpace that he was in Utopia abiding,
 ſaw there ſomuch, as here in maſter Mores deſcription
 is to be ſene and perceaued. Whiche deſcription with
 ſo manye wonders, and miraculous thinges is repleni-
 ſhed, that I ſtande in great doubt wherat firſt and chief-
 lie to muſe or marueile: whether at the excellencie of
 his perfect and ſuer memorie, which could welniegh
 worde by worde rehearſe ſo manye thinges once onely
 heard: or elles at his ſingular prudence, who ſo well
 and wittily marked and bare away al the originall cauſes
 and fountaynes (to the vulgare people comenly moſt
 vnknown) wherof both yſſueth and ſpringeth the mor-
 tall confuſion and vtter decaye of a comen wealth, and
 alſo the auancement and wealthy ſtate of the ſame may
 riſe and growe: or elles at the efficacie and pitthe of
 his woordes, which in ſo fine a latin ſtile, with ſuche
 force of eloquence hath couched together and com-
 priſed ſo many and diuers matters, ſpeciallie beinge a
 man continuallie encombred with ſo manye buſye and
 troubleſome cares, both publique, and priuate, as he
 is. Howbeit all theſe thinges cauſe you litle to mar-
 uell (righte honourable Buſlid) for that you are famili-
 arly and throughly acquainted with the notable, yea
 almoſt diuine witte of the man. But nowe to procede
 to other matters, I ſuerly know nothing nedeful or re-
 quiſite to be adioyned vnto his writings: Onely a
 meter of. iiij. verſes written in the Utopian tongue,
 whiche after maſter Mores departure Hythloday by
 chaunce ſhewed me, that haue I cauſed to be added
 thereto, with the Alphabete of the ſame nation, and
 haue alſo garniſhed the margent of the boke with cer-
 ten notes. For, as touchinge the ſituation of the
 ylande, that is to ſaye, in what parte of the worlde
 Utopia ſtandeth, the ignoraunce and lacke whereof not

a litle troubleth and greueth master More, in dede Raphael left not that vnspoken of. Howbeit with verie fewe wordes he lightly touched it, incidentlye by ye way passing it ouer, as meanyng of likelihod to kepe and referue that to an other place. And the same, I wot not how, by a certen euell and vnluckie chaunce escaped vs bothe. For when Raphael was speaking therof, one of master Mores seruauntes came to him, and whispered in his eare. Wherefore I beyng then of purpose more earnestly addict to heare, one of the company, by reason of cold taken, I thinke, a shippeborde, coughed out so loude, that he toke from my hearinge certen of his wordes. But I wil neuer stynte, nor rest, vntil I haue gotte the full and exacte knowledge hereof: infomuche that I will be hable perfectly to instructe you, not onely in the longitude or true meridian of the ylande, but also in the iust latitude therof, that is to say, in the subleuation or height of the pole in that region, if our frende Hythloday be in safetie, and aliuie. For we heare very vncerten newes of him. Some reporte, that he died in his iorney homeuarde. Some agayne affirme, that he returned into his countrey, but partly, for that he coulde not away with the fashions of his countrey folk, and partly for that his minde and affection was altogether fet and fixed vpon Utopia, they say that he hathe taken his voyage thetheruarde agayne. Now as touching this, that the name of this yland is nowhere founde amonge the olde and auncient cosmographers, this doubtte Hythloday himselfe verie well dissolued. For why it is possible enoughe (quod he) that the name, whiche it had in olde time, was afterwarde chaunged, or elles that they neuer had knowledge of this iland: forasmuch as now in our time diuers landes be found, which to the olde Geographers were vnknownen. Howbeit, what nedeth it in this behalfe to fortifie the matter with argumentes, seyngemaster More is author hereof sufficient? But whereas he doubteth of the edition or imprinting of the booke, indeede herein I both commende, and also knowledge the

mannes modestie. Howbeit vnto me it seemeth a worke most vnworthie to be long suppressed, and most worthy to go abroad into ye handes of men, yea, and vnder the title of youre name to be publyshed to the worlde: either because the singular endowmentes and qualities of master More be to no man better knowen then to you, or els bicause no man is more fitte and meete, then you with good counselles to further, and auauance the commen wealth, wherin you haue many yeares already continued and trauailed with great glory and commendation, bothe of wisdome and knowledge, and also of integritie and vprightnes. Thus o liberall supporter of good learninge, and floure of this oure time

I byd you moste hartely well to fare. At

Antwerpe .1516. the first daye of
Nouember.

**A meter of .iiij. verses in the Utopian
tongue, briefely touchinge aswell the straunge
beginning, as also the happie and wealthie
continuance of the same common
wealth.**

V *Topos ha Boccas peula chama polta chamaan.
Bargol he maglomi Baccan foma g ymnosophaon.
Agrama g ymnosophon labarem bacha bodamilomin.
Voluala barchin heman la lauoluala dramme pagloni.*

¶ Whiche verses the translator, accordinge to his simple knowledge, and meane vnderstanding in the Utopian tongue, hath thus rudely englised.

MY kinge and conquerour Utopus by name
Hath made me an yle that earst no ylande was,
Ful fraught with worldly welth with pleasure and solas.
I one of all other without philosophie
Haue shaped for man a philosophicall citie.
As myne I am nothinge daungerous to imparte,
So better to receaue I am readie with al my harte.

¶ A shorte meter of Utopia, written by Anemolius poete laureate, and nephewe to Wythlodaye by his sister.

ME Utopie cleped Antiquitie,
 Voyde of haunte and herboroughe,
 Nowe am I like to Platoes citie,
 Whose fame flieth the worlde throughe.
 Yea like, or rather more likely
 Platoes platte to excell and passe.
 For what Platoes penne hathe platted briefly
 In naked wordes, as in a glasse,
 The fame haue I perfourmed fully,
 With lawes, with men, and treasure fyttely.
 Wherefore not Utopie, but rather rightly
 My name is Eutopie: A place of felicitie.

¶ Gerarde Nouiomage of Utopia.

DOth pleasure please? then place the here, and
 well the rest,
 Most pleasaunt pleasures thou shalt finde here.
 Doeth profit ease? then here arriue, this yle is best.
 For passinge profettes do here appeare.
 Doeth bothe thee tempte, and woldest thou gripe both
 gaine and pleasure?
 This yle is fraight with both bounteously.
 Go still thy gredie intent, reape here incomparable treas-
 Bothe minde and tongue to garnishe richelie. [ure
 The hid welles and fountaines both of vice and vertue
 Thou hast them here subiect vnto thine eye.
 Be thankful now, and thankes where thankes be due
 Geue to Thomas More Londons immortal glorye.

¶ Cornelius Graphey to Reader.

VWilt thou knowe what wonders straunge be in the
 lande that late was founde? [godly be?
 Wilt thou learne thy life to leade, by diuers ways that
 Wilt thou of vertue and of vice, vnderstande the very
 grounde? [vanitie?
 Wilt thou see this wretched world, how ful it is of

Then read, and marke, and beare in mind, for thy
 behoufe, as thou maie best.
 All thinges that in this present worke, that worthie
 clerke fir Thomas More,
 With witte diuine ful learnedly, vnto the worlde hath
 plaine exprest,
 In whom London well glory maye, for wisedome and
 for godly lore.

¶ The Printer to the Reader.



He Vtopian Alphabete, good Reader, whiche
 in the aboue written Epistle is promised,
 hereunto I haue not now adioyned, because
 I haue not asyet the true characters or four-
 mes of the Utopiane letters. And no mar-
 ueill: seyng it is a tongue to vs muche straunger then the
 Indian, the Persian, the Syrian, the Arabicke, the Egyp-
 tian, the Macedonian, the Sclauonian, the ciprian, the
 Scythian etc. Which tongues though they be nothing so
 straunge among vs, as the Utopian is, yet their characters
 we haue not. But I trust, God willing, at the next impressi-
 on hereof, to perfourme that, whiche nowe I can not: that is
 to faye: to exhibite perfectly vnto thee,
 the Utopian Alphabete. In the
 meane time accept my good
 wyl. And so fare well.

¶ Imprinted at London in Pau-
 les Churche yarde, at the sygne of the
 Lambe, by Abraham Weale.

M.D.LVI.

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O. GILCHRIST. On many accounts one of the most curious and entertaining, and intrinsically one of the most valuable books of the age of QUEEN ELIZABETH. The copious intermixture of contemporary anecdote, tradition, manners, opinions, and the numerous specimens of coeval poetry nowhere else preserved, contribute to form a volume of infinite amusement, curiosity, and value.—*Censura Literaria*, i. 339. *Ed.* 1805.

This is still also an important book on Rhetoric and the Figures of Speech.

16. JAMES HOWELL,

Clerk of the Council to CHARLES I.; afterwards Historiographer to CHARLES II.

Instructions for Foreign Travel. 1642.

Instructions for forreine travelle. Shewing by what cours, and in what compasse of time, one may take an exact Survey of the Kingdomes and States of Christendome, and arrive to the practical knowledge of the Languages, to good purpose.

The MURRAY, BÆDEKER, and *Practical Guide* to the Grand Tour of Europe, which, at that time, was considered the finishing touch to the complete education of an English Gentleman.

The route sketched out by this delightfully quaint Writer, is France, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, the Netherlands, and Holland. The time allowed is 3 years and 4 months: the months to be spent in travelling, the years in residence at the different cities.

17. NICHOLAS UDALL,

Master, first of Eton College, then of Westminster School.

Roister Doister. [1553-1566.]

This is believed to be the first true English Comedy that ever came to the press.

From the unique copy, which wants a title-page, now at Eton College; and which is thought to have been printed in 1566.

Dramatis Personæ.

RALPH ROISTER DOISTER.

MATTHEW MERRYGREEK.

GAWIN GOODLUCK, *affianced to Dame CUSTANCE.*

TRISTRAM TRUSTY, *his friend.*

DOBINET DOUGHTY, "*boy*" to ROISTER DOISTER.

TOM TRUEPENNY, *servant to Dame CUSTANCE.*

SIM SURESBY, *servant to GOODLUCK.*

Scrivener.

Harpax.

DAME CHRISTIAN CUSTANCE, *a widow.*

MARGERY MUMBLECRUST, *her nurse.*

TIBET TALKAPACE } *her maidens.*

ANNOT ALYFACE }

18. A Monk of Evesham,

The Revelation, &c. 1186[-1410]. 1485.

¶ *Here begynnyth a marvellous reuelacion that was schewyd of almighty god by sent Nycholas to a monke of Euyshamme yn the days of Kynge Richard the fyrst. And the yere of owre lord, M. C. Lxxxvi.*

One of the rarest of English books printed by one of the earliest of English printers, WILLIAM DE MACLINIA; who printed this text about 1485, in the lifetime of CAXTON.

The essence of the story is as old as it professes to be; but contains later additions, the orthography, being of about 1410. It is very devoutly written, and contains a curious Vision of Purgatory.

The writer is a prototype of BUNYAN; and his description of the Gate in the Crystal Wall of Heaven, and of the solemn and marvellously sweet Peal of the Bells of Heaven that came to him through it, is very beautiful.

19. JAMES I.

A Counterblast to Tobacco. 1604.

(a) *The Essays of a Prentise, in the Divine Art of Poesie.*

Printed while JAMES VI. of Scotland, at Edinburgh in 1585; and includes *Ane Short treatise, containing some Reulis and Cautelis to be obseruit and eschewit in Scottis Poesie*, which is another very early piece of printed Poetical Criticism.

(b) *A Counterblaste to Tobacco.* 1604.

To this text has been added a full account of the *Introduction and Early use of Tobacco in England*. The herb first came into use in Europe as a medicinal leaf for poultices: smoking it was afterwards learnt from the American Indians.

Our Royal Author thus sums up his opinion:—

“A custome lothsome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmefull to the braine, dangerous to the lungs, and in the blacke stinking fume thereof, nearest resembling the horrible Stigian smoke of the pit that is bottomless.”

20. Sir ROBERT NAUNTON,

Master of the Court of Wards.

Fragmenta Regalia. 1653.

Fragmenta Regalia: or Observations on the late Queen ELIZABETH, her Times and Favourites. [1630.]

Naunton writes:—

“And thus I have delivered up this my poor Essay; a little Draught of this great Princess, and her Times, with the Servants of her State and favour.”

21. THOMAS WATSON,

Londoner, Student-at-Law.

Poems. 1582-1593.

(a) *The Ἐκατομπαθια or Passionate Centurie of Loue.*

Divided into two parts: whereof, the first expresseth the Author's sufferance in Loue: the latter, his long farwell to Loue and all his tyrannie. 1582.

(b) MELIBŒUS, *Sive Ecloga in obitum Honoratissimi Viri Domini FRANCISCI WALSINGHAMI.* 1590.

(c) *The same translated into English, by the Author.* 1590.(d) *The Tears of Fancie, or Loue disdained.* 1593.

From the *unique* copy, wanting *Sonnets* 9-16, in the possession of S. CHRISTIE MILLER, Esq., of Britwell.

22. WILLIAM HABINGTON,

Castara. 1640.

CASTARA. *The third Edition. Corrected and augmented.*

CASTARA was Lady LUCY HERBERT, the youngest child of the first Lord POWIS; and these Poems were chiefly marks of affection during a pure courtship followed by a happy marriage. With these, are also Songs of Friendship, especially those referring to the Hon. GEORGE TALBOT.

In addition to these Poems, there are four prose Characters; on *A Mistress, A Wife, A Friend, and The Holy Man.*

23. ROGER ASCHAM,

The Schoolmaster. 1570.

The Scholemaster, or plane and perfite way of teachyng children to understand, write, and speake, in Latin tong, but specially purposed for the priuate brynging up of youth in Ientleman and Noble mens houses, &c.

This celebrated Work contains the story of Lady JANE GREY's delight in reading *PLATO*, an attack on the *Italianated* Englishman of the time, and much other information not specified in the above title.

In it, ASCHAM gives us very fully his plan of studying Languages, which may be described as *the double translation of a model book.*

24. HENRY HOWARD,

Earl of SURREY.

Sir THOMAS WYATT.

NICHOLAS GRIMALD.

Lord VAUX.

Tottel's Miscellany. 5 June, 1557.

Songes and Sonettes, vwritten by the right honourable Lorde HENRY HOWARD late Earle of SURREY, and other.

With 39 additional Poems from the second edition by the same printer, RICHARD TOTTEL, of 31 July, 1557.

This celebrated Collection is the First of our Poetical Miscellanies, and also the first appearance in print of any considerable number of English Sonnets.

TOTTEL in his *Address to the Reader*, says:—

“That to haue wel written in verse, yea and in small parcelles, deserueth great praise, the workes of diuers Latines, Italians, and other, doe proue sufficiently. That our tong is able in that kynde to do as praiseworthyly as ye rest, the honorable stile of the noble earle of Surrey, and the weightnesse of the depewitted Sir Thomas Wyat the elders verse, with seuerall graces in sondry good Englishhe writers, doe show abundantly.”

25. Rev. THOMAS LEVER,

Fellow and Preacher of St. John's College, Cambridge.

Sermons. 1550.

(a) *A fruitfull Sermon in Pauls church at London in the Shroudes.*

(b) *A Sermon preached the fourth Sunday in Lent before the Kynges Maiestie, and his honourable Counsell.*

(c) *A Sermon preached at Pauls Crosse. 1550.*

These Sermons are reprinted from the original editions, which are of extreme rarity. They throw much light on the communistic theories of the Norfolk rebels; and the one at Paul's Cross contains a curious account of Cambridge University life in the reign of EDWARD VI.

26. WILLIAM WEBBE,

Graduate.

A Discourse of English Poetry. 1586.

A Discourse of English Poetrie. Together with the Authors iudgement, touching the reformation of our English Verse.

Another of the early pieces of Poetical Criticism, written in the year in which SHAKESPEARE is supposed to have left Stratford for London.

Only two copies of this Work are known, one of these was sold for £64.

This Work should be read with STANVHURST'S *Translation of Æneid, I.-IV.*, 1582, see p. 64. WEBBE was an advocate of English Hexameters; and here translates VIRGIL'S first two Eglogues into them. He also translates into Sapphics COLIN'S Song in the Fourth Eglogue of SPENSER'S *Shepherd's Calendar*.

27. FRANCIS BACON.

*afterwards Lord VERULAM Viscount ST. ALBANS.*A Harmony of the *Essays*, &c. 1597-1626.

And after my manner, I alter ever, when I add. So that nothing is finished, till all be finished.—SIR FRANCIS BACON, 27 Feb., 1610-[11].

(a) *Essays, Religious Meditations, and Places of perswasion and disswasion. 1597.*

(b) *The Writings of Sir FRANCIS BACON Knight the Kinges Sollicitor General in Moraltie, Policie, Historie.*

(c) *The Essaies of Sir FRANCIS BACON Knight, the Kings Solliciter Generall.*

(d) *The Essayes or Counsells, Civill and Morall of FRANCIS Lord VERULAM, Viscount ST. ALBAN. 1625.*

28. WILLIAM ROY. JEROME BARLOW.

Franciscan Friars.

Read me, and be not wroth! [1528.]

- (a) *Rede me and be nott wrothe,
For I saye no thyng but trothe.
I will ascende makynge my state so hie,
That my pompous honoure shall never dye.
O Caytife when thou thynkest least of all,
With confusion thou shalt have a fall.*

This is the famous satire on Cardinal WOLSEY, and is the First English Protestant book ever printed, not being a portion of Holy Scripture. See p. 22 for the Fifth such book.

The next two pieces form one book, printed by HANS LUFT, at Marburg, in 1530.

(b) *A proper dyalogue, betwene a Gentillman and a husbandman, eche complaynyng to other their miserable calamite, through the ambition of the clergy.*

(c) *A compendious old treatyse, shewyng, how that we ought to have the scripture in Englysshe.*

29. Sir WALTER RALEIGH. GERVASE MARKHAM. J. H. VAN LINSCHOTEN.

The Last Fight of the "Revenge." 1591.

(a) *A Report of the truth of the fight about the Iles of Acores, this last la Sommer. Betwixt the REUENGE, one of her Maiesties Shippes, and an ARMADA of the King of Spaine.*

[By Sir W. RALEIGH.]

(b) *The most honorable Tragedie of Sir RICHARD GRINUILE, Knight.* 1595.

[By GERVASE MARKHAM.]

(c) *[The Fight and Cyclone at the Azores.*

[By JAV HUYGHEN VAN LINSCHOTEN.]

Several accounts are here given of one of the most extraordinary Sea fights in our Naval History.

30. BARNABE GOOGE.

Eglogues, Epitaphs, and Sonnets. 1563.

Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes Newly written by BARNABE GOOGE.

Three copies only known. Reprinted from the *Huth* copy.

In the prefatory *Notes of the Life and Writings of B. GOOGE*, will be found an account of the trouble he had in winning MARY DARELL for his wife.

A new Literature generally begins with imitations and translations. When this book first appeared, Translations were all the rage among the "young England" of the day. This Collection of *original* Occasional Verse is therefore the more noticeable. The Introduction gives a glimpse of the principal Writers of the time, such as the Authors of the *Mirror for Magistrates*, the Translators of *SENECA'S Tragedies*, etc., and including such names as BALDWIN, BAVANDE, BLUNDESTON, NEVILLE, NORTH, NORTON, SACKVILLE, and YELVERTON.

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1. William Caxton,

our first Printer.

Translation of REYNARD THE FOX. 1481.

[COLOPHON.] *I have not added ne mynussed but have folowed as nyghe as I can my cople which was in dutche | and by me WILLIAM CAXTON translated in to this rude and symple englyssh in th[e] abbey of westmestre.*

Interesting for its own sake; but especially as being translated as well as printed by CAXTON, who finished the printing on 6 June, 1481.

The Story is the History of the Three fraudulent Escapes of the Fox from punishment, the record of the Defeat of Justice by flattering lips and dishonourable deeds. It also shows the struggle between the power of Words and the power of Blows, a conflict between Mind and Matter. It was necessary for the physically weak to have Eloquence: the blame of REYNARD is in the frightful misuse he makes of it.

The author says, "There is in the world much seed left of the Fox, which now over all groweth and cometh sore up, though they have no red beards."

2. John Knox,

the Scotch Reformer.

THE FIRST BLAST OF THE TRUMPET, &C.
1558.

(a) *The First Blast of a Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment of Women.*

(b) *The Propositions to be entreated in the Second BLAST.*

This work was wrung out of the heart of JOHN KNOX, while, at Dieppe, he heard of the martyr fires of England, and was anguished thereby. At that moment the liberties of Great Britain, and therein the hopes of the whole World, lay in the laps of four women—MARY of Loraine, the Regent of Scotland; her daughter MARY (the Queen of Scots); Queen MARY TUDOR; and the Princess ELIZABETH.

The Volume was printed at Geneva.

(c) KNOX'S *apologetical Defence of his FIRST BLAST, &C., to Queen ELIZABETH.* 1559.

3. Clement Robinson,

and divers others.

A HANDFUL OF PLEASANT DELIGHTS.
1584.

A Handful of pleasant delites, Containing sundrie new Sonets and delectable Historiēs, in diuers kindes of Meeter. Newly deuised to the newest tunes that are now in use, to be sung: euerie Sonet orderly pointed to his proper Tune. With new additions of certain Songs, to verie late deuised Notes, not commonly knowen, nor used heretofore.

OPHELIA quotes from *A Nosegaie, &c.*, in this Poetical Miscellany; of which only one copy is now known.

It also contains the earliest text extant of the *Ladie Greensleeues*, which first appeared four years previously.

This is the Third printed Poetical Miscellany in our language.

4. [Simon Fish,
of Gray's Inn.]

A SUPPLICATION FOR THE BEGGARS.

[? 1529.]

A Supplicacyon for the Beggars.

Stated by J. Fox to have been distributed in the streets of London on Candlemas Day [2 Feb., 1529].

This is the Fifth Protestant book (not being a portion of Holy Scripture) that was printed in the English Language.

The authorship of this anonymous tract, is fixed by a passage in Sir T. MORE'S *Apology*, of 1533, quoted in the Introduction.

5. [Rev. John Udall,

Minister at Kingston on Thames.]

DIOTREPES. [1588.]

The state of the Church of Englande, laid open in a conference betweene DIOTREPES a Byshopp, TERTULLUS a Papiste, DEMETRIUS an usurer, PANDOCUS an Innekeeper, and PAULE a preacher of the word of God.

This is the forerunning tract of the *MARTIN MARPRELATE Controversy*. For the production of it, ROBERT WALDEGRAVE, the printer, was ruined; and so became available for the printing of the Martinist invectives.

The scene of the Dialogue is in PANDOCUS'S Inn, which is in a posting-town on the high road from London to Edinburgh.

6. [?]

THE RETURN FROM PARNASSUS.

[Acted 1602.] 1606.

The Returne from Parnassus: or The Scourge of Simony. Publicly acted by the Students in Saint Johns Colledge in Cambridge.

This play, written by a University man in December, 1601, brings WILLIAM KEMP and RICHARD BURBAGE on to the Stage, and makes them speak thus:

"KEMP. Few of the vniuersity pen plaies well, they smell too much of that writer *Ouid* and that writer *Metamorphosis*, and talke too much of *Proserpina* and *Iuppiter*. Why heres our fellow *Shakespeare* puts them all downe, I [*Ay*] and *Ben Ionson* too. O that *Ben Ionson* is a pestilent fellow, he brought vp *Horace* giuing the Poets a pill, but our fellow *Shakespeare* hath given him a purge that made him beray his credit:

"BURBAGE. It's a shrewd fellow indeed:"

What this controversy between SHAKESPEARE and JONSON was, has not yet been cleared up. It was evidently recent, when (in Dec., 1601) this play was written.

7. Thomas Decker,

The Dramatist.

THE SEVEN DEADLY SINS OF
LONDON, &c. 1606.

The seven deadly Sinnes of London: drawn in seven severall Coaches, through the seven severall Gates of the Citie, bringing the Plague with them.

A prose Allegorical Satire, giving a most vivid picture of London life, in October, 1606.

The seven sins are—

FRAUDULENT BANKRUPTCY.
LYING.
CANDLELIGHT (*Deeds of Darkness*).
SLOTH.
APISHNESS (*Changes of Fashion*).
SHAVING (*Cheating*), and CRUELTY.

Their chariots, drivers, pages, attendants, and followers, are all allegorically described.

8. *The Editor.*

AN INTRODUCTORY SKETCH TO THE
MARTIN MARPRELATE CONTROVERSY.
1588-1590.

(a) *The general Episcopal Administration, Censorship, &c.*

(b) *The Origin of the Controversy.*

(c) *Depositions and Examinations.*

(d) *State Documents.*

(e) *The Brief held by Sir JOHN PUCKERING, against the Martinists.*

The REV. J. UDALL (who was, however, *not* a Martinist); Mrs. CRANE, of Molesey, Rev. J. PENRY, Sir R. KNIGHTLEY, of Fawsley, near Northampton; HUMPHREY NEWMAN, the London cobbler; JOHN HALES, Esq., of Coventry; Mr. and Mrs. WEEKSTON, of Wolston; JOB THROCKMORTON, Esq.; HENRY SHARPE, bookbinder of Northampton, and the four printers.

(f) *Miscellaneous Information.*

(g) *Who were the Writers who wrote under the name of MARTIN MARPRELATE?*

9. [Rev. John Udall,

Minister at Kingston on Thames.]

A DEMONSTRATION OF DISCIPLINE. 1588.

A Demonstration of the trueth of that discipline which CHRISTE hath prescribed in his worde for the gouvernement of his Church, in all times and places, vntil the ende of the worlde.

Printed with the secret Martinist press, at East Molesey, near Hampton Court, in July, 1588; and secretly distributed with the *Epitome* in the following November.

For this Work, UDALL lingered to death in prison.

It is perhaps the most complete argument, in our language, for Presbyterian Puritanism, as it was then understood. Its author asserted for it, the infallibility of a Divine Logic; but two generations had not passed away, before (under the teachings of Experience) much of this Church Polity had been discarded.

10. Richard Stanyhurst,

*the Irish Historian.**Translation of ÆNEID I.-IV. 1582.*

Three first foure Bookes of VIRGIL his Æneis translated intoo English heroical [i.e., hexameter] verse by RICHARD STANYHURST, wyth oother Poëtical diuises theretoo annexed.

Imprinted at Leiden in Holland by IOHN PATES, Anno M.D.LXXXII.

This is one of the oddest and most grotesque books in the English language; and having been printed in Flanders, the original Edition is of *extreme* rarity.

The present text is, by the kindness of Lord ASHBURNHAM and S. CHRISTIE-MILLER, Esq., reprinted from the only two copies known, neither of which is quite perfect.

GABRIEL HARVEY desired to be epitaphed, *The Inventor of the English Hexameter*; and STANYHURST, in imitating him, went further than any one else in maltreating English words to suit the exigencies of Classical feet.

11. *Martin Marprelate.*

THE EPISTLE. 1588.

Oh read ouer D. JOHN BRIDGES, for it is a worthy worke: Or an epitome of the fyrste Booke of that right worshipfull volume, written against the Puritanes, in the defence of the noble cleargie, by as worshipfull a prieste, JOHN BRIDGES, Presbyter, Priest or Elder, doctor of Diuillitie, and Deane of Sarum.

The Epitome [p. 26] is not yet published, but it shall be, when the Byshops are at convenient leysure to view the same. In the meane time, let them be content with this learned Epistle.

Printed oversea, in Europe, within two furlongs of a Bounsing Priest, at the cost and charges of M. MARPRELATE, gentleman.

12. Robert Greene, M.A.

MENAPHON. 1589.

MENAPHON. CAMILLAS *alarum* to slumbering EUPHUES, in his melancholie Cell at Silixedra. *VV*herein are deciphered the variable effects of Fortune, the wonders of Loue, the triumphes of inconstant Time. *D*isplaying in sundrie conceipted passions (figured in a continuate Historie) the Trophees that Vertue carrieth triumphant, maugre the wrath of Enuie, or the resolution of Fortune.

One of GREENE's novels with TOM NASH's Preface, so important in reference to the earlier *HAMLET*, before SHAKESPEARE's tragedy.

GREENE's "love pamphlets" were the most popular Works of Fiction in England, up to the appearance of Sir P. SIDNEY's *Arcadia* in 1590.

13. George Joy,

an early Protestant Reformer.

AN APOLOGY TO TINDALE. 1535.

An Apologye made by GEORGE JOYE to satisfye (if it may be) W. TINDALE: to pource and defende himselfe against so many sclaunderouse lyes fayned vpon him in TINDAL'S vcharitable and unsober Pystle so well worthye to be prefixed for the Reader to induce him into the understanding of hys new Testament diligently corrected and printed in the yeare of our Lorde, 1534, in Nouember [Antwerp, 27 Feb., 1535.]

This almost lost book is our only authority in respect to the surreptitious editions of the English *New Testament*, which were printed for the English market with very many errors, by Antwerp printers who knew not English, in the interval between TINDALE'S first editions in 1526, and his revised Text (above referred to) in 1534.

14. Richard Barnfield.

of Darlaston, Staffordshire.

POEMS. 1594-1598.

The affectionate Shepherd. Containing the Complaint of DAPHNIS for the Loue of GANYMEDE.

In the following Work, BARNFIELD states that this is "an imitation of *Virgill*, in the second Eglogue of *Alexis*."

CYNTHIA. *With Certaine Sonnets, and the Legend of CASANDRA.* 1595.

The Author thus concludes his Preface: "Thus, hoping you will beare with my rude conceit of *Cynthia* (if for no other cause, yet, for that it is the First Imitation of the verse of that excellent Poet, Maister *Spencer*, in his *Fayrie Queene*), I leaue you to the reading of that, which I so much desire may breed your delight."

The Encomion of Lady PECUNIA: or, The Praise of Money.
1598.

Two of the Poems in this Text have been wrongly attributed to SHAKESPEARE. The disproof is given in the Introduction.

15. T[homas] C[oooper].

[Bishop of WINCHESTER.]

ADMONITION TO THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

An admonition to the people of England. VVherein are answered, not onley the slaunderous vntruethes, reprochfully vttered by MARTIN the Libeller, but also many other Crimes by some of his broode, objected generally against all Bishops, and the chiefe of the Cleargie, purposely to deface and discredit the present state of the Church. [Jan. 1589].

This is the official reply on the part of the Hierarchy, to MARTIN MARPRELATE'S *Epistle* of [Nov.] 1508: see No. 11. on p. 24.

It was published between the appearance of the *Epistle* and that of the *Epitome*.

16. Captain John Smith,

President of Virginia, and Admiral of New England.

WORKS.—1608-1631. 2 vols. 12s. 6d.

A complete edition, with six facsimile plates.

Occasion was taken, in the preparation of this Edition, dispassionately to test the Author's statements. The result is perfectly satisfactory. The Lincolnshire Captain is to be implicitly believed in all that he relates of his own personal knowledge.

The following are the chief Texts in this Volume :—

- (1.) **A true Relation of Occurrences in Virginia.** 1608.
- (2.) **A Map of Virginia.** 1612.
- (3.) **A Description of New England.** 1616.
- (4.) **New England's Trials.** 1620 and 1622.
- (5.) **The History of Virginia, New England, and Bermuda.** 1624.
- (6.) **An Accidence for young Seamen.** 1626.
- (7.) **His true Travels, Adventures, and Observations.** 1630.
- (8.) **Advertisements for Planters in New England, or anywhere.** 1631.

The first Three English Books on America. [? 1511]—1555.

This work is a perfect Encyclopædia respecting the earliest Spanish and English Voyages to America.

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- (1.) **Of the new landes, etc.** Printed at Antwerp about 1511. *This is the first English book in which the word America [i.e. Armonica] occurs.*
- (2.) **A Treatise of the new India, etc.** Translated by RICHARD EDEN from SEBASTIAN MUENSTER'S *Cosmography*: and printed in 1553. *The Second English Book on America.*
- (3.) **The Decades of the New World, etc.,** by PIETRO MARTIRE [PETRUS MARTYR], translated by RICHARD EDEN, and printed in 1555. *The Third English Book on America.* SHAKESPEARE obtained the character of CALIBAN from this Work.

A List of 837 London Publishers, 1553-1640.

This Master Key to English Bibliography for the period also gives the approximate period that each Publisher was in business.

Demy 4to, 32 pp., 10s. 6d. net.

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The First printed English New Testament, in Quarto.

BY W. TINDALE AND W. ROY.

Sixty photo-lithographed pages; preceded by a critical PREFACE.

BRIEFLY told, the story of this profoundly interesting work is as follows:—

In 1524 TINDALE went from London to Hamburgh; where remaining for about a year, he journeyed on to Cologne; and there, assisted by WILLIAM ROY, subsequently the author of the satire on WOLSEY, *Rede me and be nott wrothe* [see p. 19], he began this first edition in 4to, *with glosses*, of the English New Testament.

A virulent enemy of the Reformation, COCHLÆUS, at that time an exile in Cologne, learnt, through giving wine to the printer's men, that P. QUENTAL the printer had in hand a secret edition of three thousand copies of the English New Testament. In great alarm, he informed HERMAN RINCK, a Senator of the city, who moved the Senate to stop the printing; but COCHLÆUS could neither obtain a sight of the Translators, nor a sheet of the impression.

TINDALE and ROY fled with the printed sheets up the Rhine to Worms; and there completing this edition, produced also another in 8vo, *without glosses*. Both editions were probably in England by March, 1526.

Of the six thousand copies of which they together were composed, there remain but this fragment of the First commenced edition, in 4to; and of the Second Edition, in 8vo, one complete copy in the Library of the Baptist College at Bristol, and an imperfect one in that of St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

In the *Preface*, the original documents are given intact, in connection with

Evidence connected with the first Two Editions of the English New Testament, viz., in Quarto and Octavo—

- I. WILLIAM TINDALE's antecedent career.
- II. The Printing at Cologne.
- III. The Printing at Worms.
- IV. WILLIAM ROY's connection with these Editions.
- V. The landing and distribution in England.
- VI. The persecution in England.

Typographical and Literary Evidence connected with the present Fragment—

- I. It was printed for TINDALE by PETER QUENTAL at Cologne, before 1526.
- II. It is not a portion of the separate Gospel of *Matthew* printed previous to that year.
- III. It is therefore certainly a fragment of the Quarto.

Is the Quarto a translation of LUTHER's German Version?

Text. The prologge. Inner Marginal References. Outer Marginal Glosses.

* * For a continuation of this Story see G. JOY's *Apology* at p. 25.

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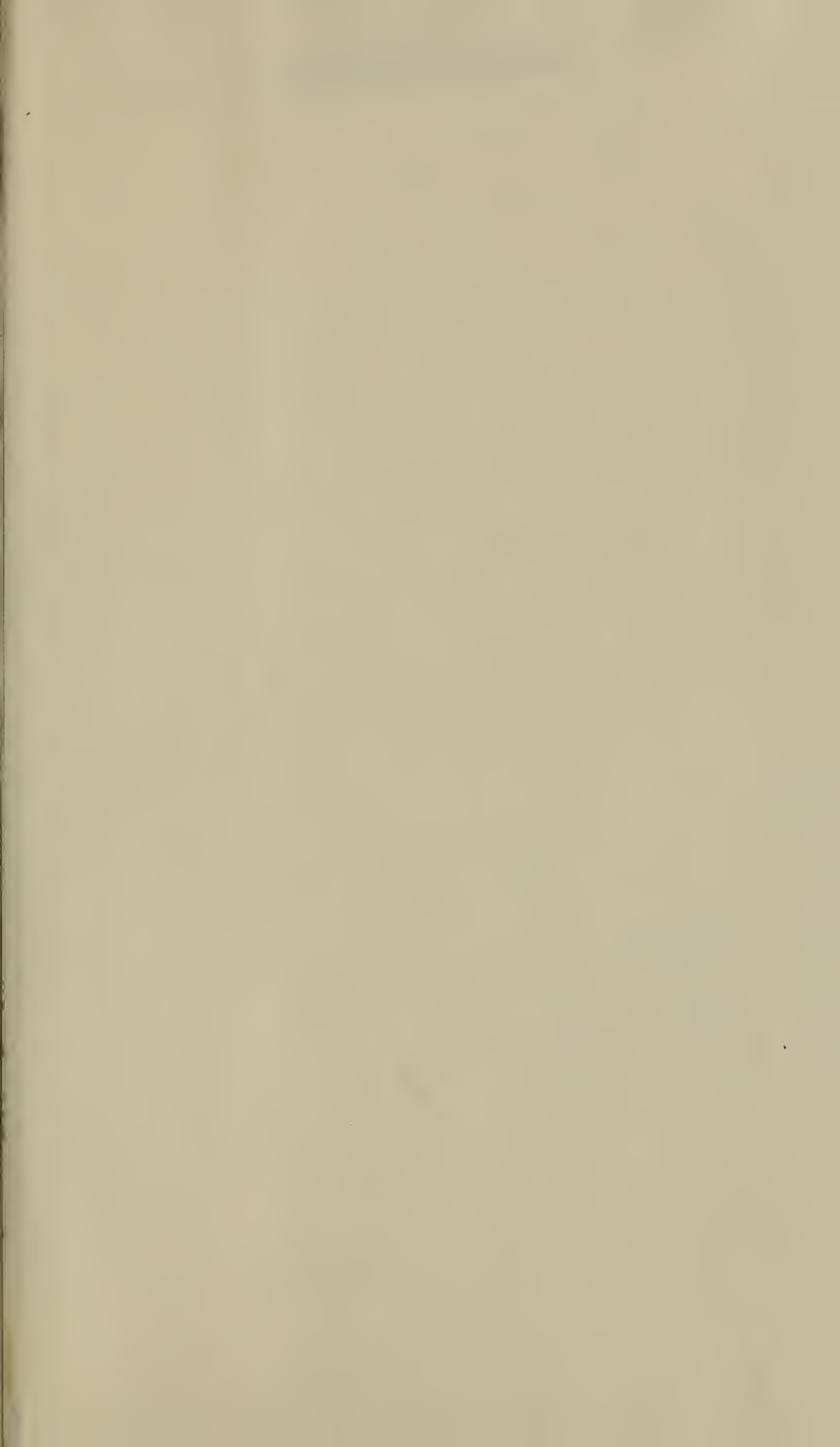
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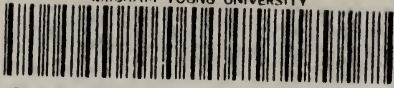
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